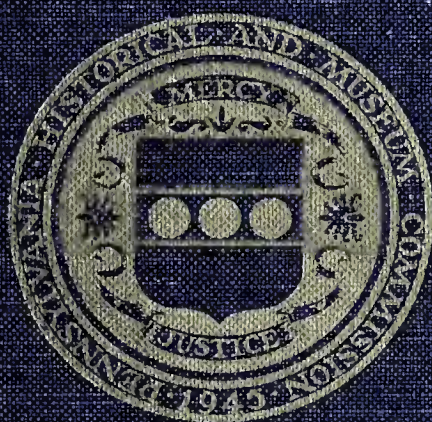


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WILLIAM SMITH

History of Higher Education
in
Pennsylvania

BY

SAUL SACK

University of Pennsylvania

VOLUME ONE

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM
COMMISSION

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Preface

THE KEY to the understanding of present problems lies hidden in the recesses of the past. The social structure rests upon the foundations which former generations have erected, and reflects in large measure the strengths and the weaknesses of its underpinning. We can neither shake off nor shrug away our origins, for change occurs not in a vacuum but arises from that which has gone before. Historical investigation is the instrument which unlocks the secrets of the past, offers a means for interpreting the present, and supplies a base upon which the course of rational social action may be predicated.

Another fact emerges from the study of history: It is the inter-relatedness of social phenomena. Institutions are not discrete entities. They are molded by the environment which gives them life. In turn, institutions react upon the forces which shape them, to change and to modify them, and to give them new form and meaning. Consequently, education, one of the most vital social institutions—for within it one perceives the converging of all other social forces—must be studied in the context of the entire social fabric. From this point of view the present study was undertaken.

Some excellent research has already been done with respect to the history of education in Pennsylvania. Thomas Woody has made an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of the beginnings of elementary and secondary education in his *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania* (1920). Basing his work on a thorough study of the primary sources, James Mulhern has produced *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania* (1933), which is clearly the definitive work in the field, covering the period from the founding of the colony to the close of the nineteenth century. Others have made less substantial contributions to Pennsylvania's educational history. James Wickersham, in *A History of Education in Pennsylvania* (1886), presented materials relating to elementary, secondary, and higher education. However, so broad a canvas did not portray adequately any one phase of the problem. Further, Wickersham's treatment, lacking documentation, gives rise to doubt as to the reliability of his sources. Louise G. and Matthew J. Walsh's textbook, the *History and Organization of Education in Pennsylvania* (1930), drawn chiefly from secondary sources, deals briefly with elementary, secondary, and higher education. Studies of a more authoritative nature, concerned with the contributions of individuals and specific religious groups, have appeared more recently and are acknowledged throughout the text and in the bibliography. When this study was undertaken about eight years ago,

the area of higher education in Pennsylvania, aside from a few institutional histories, was virtually untouched.

Preliminary to the field investigations, a broad body of literature was explored. Histories of a general nature dealing with the economic, political, and social life of Pennsylvania from its foundings to the present were studied. State, county, and local histories, church histories, publications of historical societies, as well as works dealing with education in a general and special sense, were perused in an effort to obtain clues to materials concerning the State's colleges and universities. The reports of the United States Commissioner of Education and of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania were combed thoroughly for signs of institutional life. Some long forgotten colleges, and a few which never drew a first breath, were brought to light in the pamphlet laws of Pennsylvania.

These measures, however, were but the beginning. The heart of the study lies in the primary documents themselves. Minutes of trustees, minutes of faculties, letters, diaries, memoirs, reports, catalogues, bulletins, announcements, and student publications, among many other sources, supplied the foundation upon which the history was built. The records of institutions long dead were sought in local historical societies, libraries, newspapers, and county courthouses scattered over the length and breadth of the State.

The search for documents was frequently exacting and exciting. Records were often found in the most unlikely places. Attics, subcellars, abandoned safes, bottom drawers of filing cabinets, prescription rooms of apothecaries, and the interstices of desks whose owners had long forgotten their contents were the repositories of materials that served to give substance to institutions whose only claim to existence lay in charters recorded in the impersonal records of law.

It is to be regretted that some past custodians of college archives were lax in discharging their trust. They were often unaware of, or indifferent to, the importance of the documents they held. A dean of women proudly reported that she had deliberately destroyed materials which, in her judgment, painted some past presidents of her institution in an unfavorable light. A few of the State's colleges and universities either lost or misplaced such vital records as the minutes of trustees and faculties. The future recorders of their histories, consequently, will have to depend upon the uncertain memory of aged alumni or the incomplete records in the local press. Fortunately, these institutions were but a small minority of Pennsylvania's large number of colleges and universities. The documents, for the most part, were preserved. Even where they were allegedly lost, careful search often revealed their resting places.

A study of the documents indicated that the history of higher education in Pennsylvania could be told best if a topical, rather than a chronological, organization were adopted. Consequently, the study is presented in four parts, each treating a different aspect of the story. Within the several parts, however, attention is paid to the ordering of events chronologically. At the same time, an effort has been made

to relate the development of higher education to the environment which produced it. Separate chapters depict life in the Province and in the Commonwealth. Throughout the text, the various phases of institutional life and growth are viewed in the light of the social forces which affected them.

The study attempts to trace the development of higher education, in all its important aspects, from the founding of the colony to the mid-point of the twentieth century. Clearly, earlier phases of the history receive more intensive and detailed treatment than do the relatively recent developments. The perspective of distance in time has the happy tendency of lending clarity to events that recency seems to obscure. With this in mind, the policy has been adopted in Part I to treat of the life of institutions up to the point where they adopt four-year curricula and confer their first Bachelor of Arts degrees or to where their control has been assumed by other religious denominations. Subsequent aspects of their history are dealt with in appropriate chapters in Parts II, III, and IV.

Although history cannot offer definitive solutions to current problems, it can shed light upon the nature of their origins and provide a base from which rational answers may be derived. It was for the purpose of providing such a base, that this history of higher education in Pennsylvania was undertaken. Central among the questions confronting higher education at present which the study seeks to clarify are the following: Would Pennsylvania have had as many institutions of higher education if the churches had been less active in their establishment? Has the maintenance of an intimate connection between church and college, in those cases where it has persisted, stimulated or impeded the development and modernization of the educational institution? Have the colleges tended to become secular in their orientation and control? What was and what is the relationship of the State to its colleges and universities? What were the reasons for the demise of institutions of higher education in the past, and what were the factors that contributed to the health and solvency of those which managed to survive? Does the existence of separate institutions of higher education for men and for women in the mid-twentieth century constitute an anachronism? What is the future of the junior college in Pennsylvania? Have we come to a de facto acceptance of professional, technical, and vocational education as proper functions of our colleges and universities? What was a liberal arts education in the past, and what is it now? Is Pennsylvania moving towards the realization of the dream of its early progenitors of establishing a free, tax-supported system of education extending from the elementary school to the university?

Chapters of the work, modified for independent publication, have already appeared in Pennsylvania journals, "The Higher Education of Women in Pennsylvania," and "Student Life in the Nineteenth Century" in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, January, 1959, and July, 1961; "The State and Higher Education" in *Pennsylvania History*, July, 1959.

Whatever merit the work possesses is attributable to a host of individuals who gave unstintingly of their time, their knowledge, and their energies. The writer alone is responsible for its shortcomings. Unfortunately, space does not permit an enumeration of all those who contributed to it. The writer wishes, however, to express his gratitude and indebtedness to the presidents of the State's colleges and universities who have so graciously granted him access to the intimate documents of their institutions, and to innumerable librarians and archivists of colleges, historical societies, and local libraries for the aid and courtesies they have extended him.

He is indebted beyond measure to the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania for the Harrison Fellowship awarded him for two years, and to the Samuel S. Fels Fund for a grant for one year, which permitted him to devote large blocks of uninterrupted time to the study.

To James Mulhern and Thomas Woody the author owes a special debt for their guidance throughout the process of research and writing, for their critical and constructive reading of the manuscript, for their vast store of knowledge and experience from which he was allowed to draw liberally, for the incomparable examples they have set as teachers, students, and research workers, and for the inspiration and encouragement they have constantly given him. To Ruth Steele, Evelyn Epstein, and Dorothy Stein, he wishes to express his gratitude for their untiring efforts in typing the manuscript. He extends grateful acknowledgment to Jeannette Weiss for her aid in preparing the bibliography, to Clara Sack for her unstinting labors in the developing of photographic materials, and to Selma Goldberg for her constancy and devotion in checking proof and in indexing. To the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and to its Executive Director, Sylvester K. Stevens, the author owes an incalculable debt for making possible the publication of the work. He is particularly grateful for the meticulous and scholarly editorial work performed by Sanford W. Higginbotham and Donald H. Kent, former and present directors of the Historical Commission's Bureau of Research, Publications, and Records. He extends his thanks to Harold Myers and Catherine McCann of the Commission's staff for painstaking care in the reading of proof. Finally, to Irma Sack, the author owes a very special debt for her patience and forbearance during the trying period of research and composition, for her help in compiling the index, for her unfailing good humor in the tedious but necessary task of proofreading, and for her perceptive and critical examination of the manuscript during the various stages of revision.

SAUL SACK

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PART I

Origins: The Role of the Churches

CHAPTER I

Life in Provincial Pennsylvania

1. THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

Wealth and a more abundant life were the magnets that drew the adventurers and the less fortunate of the Old World to the wooded wilderness of Pennsylvania. While political and religious factors helped to motivate immigration to the newly created Province, by far the most persuasive factor, even to Penn himself, was the economic.¹ More than half a century before the advent of the English, the Swedish king was convinced that the formation of a "General Trading Company," to promote commerce with the whole world and to make settlements, would increase the prosperity of Sweden and add to the riches of the private shareholder.² Attention was particularly directed "to the country on the Delaware, its fertility, convenience, and all its imaginable resources." And those who came with Peter Menewe (Minit) in 1638 were not only laden with provisions and ammunition, but with "merchandise suitable for traffic and gifts to the Indians."³

Immigration in the eighteenth century, according to Vernon Parrington, "was almost wholly economic in motive."⁴ This fact was clearly perceived by John Dickinson in his "Farmer's Letters," when he wrote:

Colonies have been settled by the nations of *Europe* for the purposes of trade. These purposes were to be attained, by the colonies raising for their mother country those things which she did not produce herself; and by supplying themselves from her with things they wanted. These were the *national objects*, in the commencement of our colonies, and have been uniformly so in their promotion. . . .⁵

¹ William Penn, "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania . . .," Albert C. Myers (ed.), *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York, 1912), 202-15; Julius F. Sachse (ed.), *Falckner's Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1905), 157.

² Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638-1664*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1911), I, 54-55.

³ Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden; or, The Settlements on the River Delaware*, translated by William M. Reynolds (Philadelphia, 1874), 20, 23.

⁴ Vernon L. Parrington, *The Colonial Mind, 1620-1800* (New York, 1927), 133.

⁵ Quoted, *ibid.*, 223.

Streams of pamphlets and broadsides were issued by Penn and his aids describing the existing and potential wealth of the nascent colony.⁶ Julius F. Sachse states that "Pennsylvania was the best advertised province of all the original thirteen Colonies. . . . No professional promoter or land speculator of the present day could have devised any scheme which would have proved a greater success than the means taken by William Penn and his counsellor Benjamin Furly to advertise his province among the various nations and conditions of men."⁷ Considerable portions of this propaganda were directed at stimulating German immigration.⁸

Enthusiastic, though perhaps exaggerated, accounts of life in the new province by participants in that life early made their appearance. Gabriel Thomas' *Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania*, published in 1698, depicted the colony as the best of all possible places, a "Noble Spot of Earth," so peaceful and healthful that "Of Lawyers and Physicians I shall say nothing, because this Countrey is very Peaceable and Healt[h]y; long may it so continue and never have occasion for the Tongue of the one, nor the Pen of the other, both equally destructive to Mens Estates and Lives. . . ." Add to this physical and social Eden the fact that tithes are nonexistent; that "Taxes are inconsiderable"; that "there is no Persecution for Religion, nor ever like to be; 'tis this that knocks all Commerce on the Head,"⁹ and an exceedingly attractive picture is painted that served to influence the prospective immigrant's choice of settlement. Gottlieb Mittelberger, though highly critical of the treatment accorded indentured servants in Pennsylvania, confirmed some of Gabriel Thomas' observations. "Liberty in Pennsylvania," he said, "extends so far that every one is free from all molestation and taxation on his property, business, house and estates." More than this, "All trades and professions have good earnings; beggars are nowhere to be seen. . . ."¹⁰

⁶ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, IV (1880), 187-201; V (1881), 37-50; VI (1882), 311-28. Cited hereafter as *PMHB*.

⁷ Sachse (ed.), *Falckner's Curieuse*, 8.

⁸ Julius F. Sachse, "Title Pages of Books and Pamphlets That Influenced German Emigration to Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings and Addresses*, VII (1897), 201-56.

⁹ Gabriel Thomas, "An Historical and Geographical Account of Pensilvania and of West New Jersey . . . 1698," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 314, 328-29.

¹⁰ Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754*, translated by Carl T. Eben (Philadelphia, 1898), 55, 67.

These expressions of religious and economic freedom reflected the developing Protestant attitude toward economic, social, and political matters. The Reformation, representing in essence a revolt of the individual conscience against authority interposed between man and God,¹¹ encouraged the growth of an ideology which regarded the sphere of the church as limited to personal life and not directly concerned with economic and social affairs.¹²

Despite his attachment to the past, the logic of Luther's religious premises led to the divorcement of religious restraints from secular activities.¹³ This principle of the separation of the religious from the mundane flowered to vigorous life under the teachings of Calvin and grew to fruition with the promulgation of the Puritan doctrine that "The only way of living acceptably to God was not to surpass worldly morality in monastic asceticism, but solely through the fulfilment of the obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world. That was his calling."¹⁴ The Quakers, too, accepted the Puritan view that commerce and trade may be for the individual the calling or service in which God wishes him to be.¹⁵

Consequently, when economic interests collided with the policy of compulsory religious conformity, it was not surprising that economists of the period should declare religious persecution incompatible with prosperity. "'Every law of this nature,'" declared a pamphleteer in 1677, "is not only 'expressly against the very principles and rules of the Gospel of Christ,' but is also 'destructive to the trade and well-being of our nation by oppressing and driving away the most industrious working hands, and depopulating, and thereby impoverishes our country. . . .'"¹⁶ It is evident from the observations recorded by Thomas and Mittelberger that these were the principles that motivated Penn in the founding of his colony and led him to their adoption as practical measures in the conduct of the affairs of the Province.

¹¹ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons (New York, 1930), 104-105; Margaret James, *Social Problems and Policy During the Puritan Revolution, 1640-1660* (London, 1930), 5.

¹² Richard H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London, 1926), 101, 113, 197, 281; Evelyn D. Bebb, *Nonconformity and Social and Economic Life, 1660-1800* (London, 1935), 166.

¹³ Tawney, *Religion*, 101; Ernest Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, translated by Olive Wyon, 2 vols. (New York, 1931), II, 554.

¹⁴ Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 80-81; Tawney, *Religion*, 94 ff.; Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, II, 641-42; James, *Social Problems*, 8, 17.

¹⁵ Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and Industry Before 1800* (London, 1930), 37.

¹⁶ Quoted in Tawney, *Religion*, 206.

The resources of the country promised freedom from want. “. . . Fowl, Fish, and Wild-Deer . . . are reported to be plentiful in those parts. . . . The Commodities that the Country is thought to be capable of, are Silk, Flax, Hemp, Wine, Sider, Woad, Maddier, Liquorish, Tobacco, Potashes, and Iron, and it does actually produce Hides, Tallow, Pipe-staves, Beef, Pork, Sheep, Wool, Corn, as Wheat, Barly, Ry, and also Furs. . . .”¹⁷ In a letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of the Province, Penn confirmed in 1683 what he had stated in 1681. Furthermore, he declared “that Edward Jones, Son-in-Law to Thomas Wynn, living on the Skulkil, had with ordinary Cultivation, for one Grain of English Barley, seventy Stalks and Ears of Barley; And ’tis common in this Country from one Bushel sown, to reap forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty.”¹⁸

Agriculture was clearly the base of the economy. James Truslow Adams estimates that “Probably about ninety per cent of the colonists were engaged in agriculture.”¹⁹ Though Penn had the right granted him by charter to encourage large-scale landlordism, and did attempt to do so, most of Pennsylvania was divided into small or moderate farms tillable by their owners with the occasional aid of a laborer or two.²⁰

Within the first few years of its founding, the Province could boast of the existence of small handicraft and the encouragement of nascent industry.²¹ In his letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, 1683, Penn reports that

Your Tannery hath such plenty of Bark, the Saw-Mill for Timber, the place of the Glass-house so conveniently posted for Water-carriage, the City-Lot for a Dock, and the Whalery for a sound and fruitful Bank, and the Town Lewis by it to help your People, that by Gods blessing the Affairs of the Society will naturally grow in their Reputation and Profit.²²

¹⁷ Penn, “Some Account . . .,” Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 207.

¹⁸ William Penn, “A Letter from William Penn . . . to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders . . .,” *ibid.*, 228 n.

¹⁹ James T. Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690-1763* (New York, 1927), 11.

²⁰ Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *A Basic History of the United States* (New York, 1944), 30; Howard M. Jenkins (ed.), *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal: A History, 1608-1903*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1903), I, 513.

²¹ Sachse (ed.), *Falckner's Curieuse*, 157; William Penn, “A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania . . .,” Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 261; Penn, “A Letter . . . to . . . the Free Society . . .,” *ibid.*, 241.

²² *Ibid.*

At the same time, the community at Germantown had established a paper mill. The Germans were also producing "a very fine German Linen such as no Person of Quality need be ashamed to wear."²³

This abundance of economic activity apparently called for some governmental regulation, for on March 26, 1684, the Provincial Council approved a bill "Impowring the Justices of Each County Court to set y^e Wages of Workmen & Serv^{ts}, wth a Penalty." At the same time they passed another bill providing for "Linnen & Woollen Cloth to have a price set upon it by y^e County Court, y^e hempt at 5^d the pound, and y^e flax at 8^d p pound."²⁴ Manufacture in the infant years of the colony, however, was largely a matter of handicraft and home-fabricated products. Scarcity of skilled workmen (at a time when the laborer was of far greater importance than the machine), difficulties of transportation, the need for locating manufactories at such points as afforded both water power and carriage, and the lack of accumulated capital seeking investment tended to delay the establishment of large-scale manufactures.²⁵

The accumulation of large surpluses from mercantile activities, over and above the capacity of these activities to employ them, stimulated the search for new investment fields. Real estate, mining, and manufactures offered the chief outlets for such surpluses.²⁶ Of these, real estate, despite the smaller returns it offered, because of its apparent safety, was the most attractive of the three investment possibilities. Alexander Mackraby in 1768 wrote: "It is almost a proverb in this neighborhood that 'Every great fortune made here within these 50 years has been by land.'"²⁷ Nevertheless, small industrial enterprises were established quite early in the life of the Province.

Mention has already been made of the Free Society of Traders chartered by Penn in March, 1682.²⁸ More than two hundred persons in the British Isles subscribed some £10,000 to this, the first corporate enterprise in Pennsylvania. The Free Society erected a tannery, a

²³ Lucy F. Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times* (Philadelphia, 1901), 33; Penn, "A Further Account . . .," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 272; Francis D. Pastorius, "A Particular Geographical Description of the Lately Discovered Province of Pennsylvania . . .," *Old South Leaflets*, No. 95, p. 15.

²⁴ Pennsylvania, *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* . . ., 16 vols. (Harrisburg, 1838-1853), I, 43-44. Cited hereafter as Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*.

²⁵ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 38-39.

²⁶ Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill, 1948), 95.

²⁷ Mackraby to Sir Philip Francis, January 20, 1768, *PMHB*, XI (1887), 277.

²⁸ Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 240 n.

sawmill, a gristmill, a glassworks, and a brick kiln.²⁹ They carried on whaling operations in the Delaware Bay.³⁰ This corporate enterprise, however, was destined to be short-lived. Opposition to its monopolistic features, scarcity of money capital, and failure on the part of its officers to attend to the interests of the company forced it to cease operations within a few years and by 1723 to relinquish even its realty holdings.³¹

At first, investment turned primarily to such enterprises as lumbering, flour milling, and shipbuilding, which were closely associated with the export trade. Writing in 1731, Fayrer Hall stated that Pennsylvania was building for sale about 2,000 tons of shipping a year over and above what she employed in her own trade, which approximated 6,000 tons.³²

With the expansion of settlement toward the west, there developed an increasing emphasis on cultivating local self-sufficiency, despite the hostile attitude of British official policy to Colonial manufactures. This manifested itself in an attempt at diversification of industry. By 1720 investments in mining and, particularly, the manufacture of iron began to outrun investments in other industrial enterprises.³³ Beginning with the erection of a bloomery forge in 1716 by Thomas Rutter in Berks County, scarcely a year passed throughout the eighteenth century that did not witness the establishment of an iron manufactory.³⁴ So rapid was the growth of the iron industry in Pennsylvania that it soon outstripped its precursors in New England. By the middle of the eighteenth century the people of New Hampshire were complaining of "a most Intolerable price" for iron imported chiefly from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.³⁵ In 1750 Mittelberger observed that "many a ship leaves the port of Philadelphia, freighted exclusively with iron bars."³⁶

²⁹ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 91-92.

³⁰ Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 293. It may be noted in passing that the whaling industry in Philadelphia after 1722 became less lucrative, although as late as 1809 "a whale of pretty large dimensions, to the great surprise of our citizens, was caught near Chester." John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (New York, 1844), II, 429.

³¹ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 92.

³² Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1797), II, 204.

³³ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 97-98.

³⁴ Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harrisburg, 1938), 50, 187-92.

³⁵ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 232.

³⁶ Mittelberger, *Journey*, 101.

Commerce, however, was chiefly responsible for the building of early Pennsylvania colonial fortunes.³⁷ Within a few years of the settlement of the Province, Daniel Falckner wrote, in answer to an inquiry concerning the commerce of Pennsylvania, that in addition to the trade with England, "The chief commerce of Pennsylvania is with the Bermudas, Barbadoes, Jamaica and Antigua. . . . Besides, we trade with Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, and Providence, likewise with New York, New England, Newfoundland and Terra Nova. . . ." ³⁸ Writing in 1685, Penn stated: "We have had about Ninety Sayl of Ships with Passengers since the beginning of '82, and not one Vessel designed to the Province, through God's mercy, hitherto miscarried." ³⁹ Gabriel Thomas declared: "Now the true Reason why this Fruitful Countrey and Florishing City advance so considerably in the Purchase of Lands both in the one and the other, is their great and extended Traffique and Commerce both by Sea and Land. . . ." ⁴⁰

A measure of the extent and importance of Pennsylvania commerce and trade is indicated by the opening in 1721 in Philadelphia of "An office of Publick Insurance on Vessels, Goods." ⁴¹ Citing the amount and value of but two products, wheat and flaxseed, exported from the port of Philadelphia for the period extending from 1731 to 1772, Robert Proud asserts "that the value of these exports was nearly trebled every twenty years." ⁴² Between the years 1697 and 1773 Pennsylvania exports to Great Britain in pounds sterling rose from £3,347 16s. 1d. in 1697 to £36,652 8s. 9d. in 1773; and the value of her imports from Great Britain for the same period rose from £2,997 16s. 4d. to £426,448 17s. 2d. ⁴³ Franklin in 1766 testified before the House of Commons that Pennsylvania's imports from Great Britain were above £500,000 a year and exports did not exceed £40,000 a year. ⁴⁴ So great was the rise of Pennsylvania mercantile activity that in 1774 on the eve of the Revolution Philadelphia was the principal port of entry for immigrants and the shipping of surpluses from a vast hinterland. With a popula-

³⁷ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 95; Beard and Beard, *Basic History*, 44; Jenkins (ed.), *Pennsylvania*, I, 513.

³⁸ Sachse (ed.), *Falckner's Curieuse*, 193.

³⁹ Penn, "A Further Account . . .," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 260.

⁴⁰ Thomas, "An Historical and Geographical Account . . .," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 325.

⁴¹ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 224-25; Watson, *Annals*, II, 490; *American Weekly Mercury*, May 25, 1721.

⁴² Proud, *History*, II, 264-65.

⁴³ Samuel Hazard (ed.), *The Register of Pennsylvania*, 16 vols. (Philadelphia, 1828-1835), I, 6. Cited hereafter as *Hazard's Register*.

⁴⁴ Watson, *Annals*, II, 405.

tion of approximately 40,000 inhabitants it stood second only to London among the capital cities of the British Empire. Clearly, the days of economic dependency on Great Britain for capital, for basic supplies, and for manufactures were past.⁴⁵

The growth of the economy, however, was neither smooth nor unimpeded. The period from 1690 to 1713, Adams states, "was one of severe business depression for the colonists."⁴⁶ Samuel Carpenter, who is described by Watson as having made "the first and most numerous important improvements in Philadelphia," was so hard put between the years 1700 to 1705 as to sell "them out in vexation and disappointment."⁴⁷ Commenting on the hard times of the period, James Logan in 1704 complained that "Money is so scarce that many good farmers now scarce ever see a piece-of-eight of their own throughout the year. . . ."⁴⁸ Although a period of expansion followed the cessation of the wars, the years between 1721 and 1723 were lean ones for the Province.⁴⁹ So much had trade declined and the currency depreciated that on January 2, 1722/23, a group of inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia presented the Assembly with a petition stating "That they are sensibly aggrieved in their estates and dealings to the great loss and growing ruin of themselves and the evident decay of this province in general, for want of a medium to buy and sell with, and praying for a paper currency." Similar petitions were received from citizens of Chester and Bucks counties.⁵⁰ As a consequence, on March 2, 1722/23, the Assembly passed a bill for issuing £15,000 of paper currency, the first such bill in the history of the Province.⁵¹ The effect of the introduction of paper currency on the economy was apparently a salutary one, for according to Franklin, it "had done much good by increasing the trade, employment, and number of inhabitants in the province. . . ."⁵²

At the same time Lieutenant Governor Sir William Keith reported that over two hundred houses stood empty in Philadelphia; that workers were daily compelled to leave the city; that storekeepers lacked sufficient capital to replenish their inventories; and that the prices for

⁴⁵ Beard and Beard, *Basic History*, 44-45.

⁴⁶ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 54.

⁴⁷ Watson, *Annals*, I, 33.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 55; Tolles, *Meeting House*, 100.

⁵⁰ *Hazard's Register*, III, 1.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵² Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography . . . & Selections from His Other Writings*, with an introduction by Henry Steele Commager (New York, c. 1950), 74.

wheat, flour, bread, and other farm commodities had fallen to such a low point that it was hardly profitable for the farmers to transport them to market.⁵³ While a few enjoyed great wealth, "the great bulk of the people were living near the lower end of the social scale," which necessitated the "utilizing [of] the physical labor of women and children."⁵⁴

2. SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The description of the United States as a melting pot could have been applied to Pennsylvania from the very earliest days of its founding. That this was largely attributable to the policy of its founder was evidenced by his desire that Pennsylvania be an "open . . . door to Europeans to pass thither."⁵⁵ In 1685 Penn noted that "The People are a Collection of divers Nations in Europe: As, French, Dutch, Germans, Sweeds, Danes, Finns, Scotch, Irish and English. . . ." Although even the relative proportion of these to the total population is difficult to determine, the number of English, at least in the 1680's, was probably equal to that of the others combined.⁵⁶

By 1727 the influx of Germans had so alarmed the Provincial Assembly that that body passed an act requiring the new immigrants to swear allegiance to King George II and fidelity "to the Proprietor of this Province," and to promise to "strictly observe & conform to the Laws of England and of this Province. . . ."⁵⁷ Charles Stillé estimated that of a total population in 1740, of 100,000 about one-half were Germans.⁵⁸

As a result of a very careful study of German immigration into the Province during the Colonial period, Frank Diffenderffer set the number of Germans in 1750 at 47,000.⁵⁹ Aside from William Smith, who in 1755 estimated the number of Germans at one-half the total population, contemporaries like Benjamin Franklin and the historian Robert Proud calculated that the Germans comprised one-third of the inhabitants of the Province from 1760 to 1770.⁶⁰ Practically all authorities,

⁵³ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 100.

⁵⁴ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 11.

⁵⁵ Penn, "A Further Account . . .," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 259.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁵⁷ Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*, III, 299-300.

⁵⁸ Charles J. Stillé, *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732-1808* (Philadelphia, 1891), 46-47.

⁵⁹ Frank R. Diffenderffer, *The German Immigration into Pennsylvania Through the Port of Philadelphia from 1700 to 1775* (Lancaster, 1900), 102.

⁶⁰ [William Smith], *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania* (London, 1755), 4; Proud, *History*, II, 273; Watson, *Annals*, II, 405; Andrew D. Mellick, "German Emigration to the American Colonies, Its Cause, and the Distribution of the Emigrants," *PMHB*, X (1886), 391.

declares Diffenderffer, are agreed that for the period 1730 to 1790 the Germans constituted about one-third of the total population. "This statement," he avers, "is unquestionably correct as we approach the years nearest the Revolutionary period."⁶¹

Of the ratio of Scotch-Irish to the total population, Charles Lincoln reports an estimate that they equaled the Quaker contingent in 1749, each forming about one-fourth of the whole.⁶² Speaking specifically of the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania in 1774, Franklin believed that the proportion of these to the population had increased about one-third out of a total 350,000.⁶³ Wayland Dunaway concludes that "Next to the English . . . [the Scotch-Irish were] by far the most numerous of any entering America in the colonial era."⁶⁴ In an earlier study the same writer maintained that numerically the English predominated for the entire Colonial period, with the Germans and Scotch-Irish falling into second and third places respectively.⁶⁵

The evidence is scanty and inconclusive. This much, however, can be stated: The English, the German, and the Scotch-Irish comprised the majority of those national groups that contributed to the population of Pennsylvania in the provincial period.

Similar difficulties are experienced in attempting to determine population statistics without regard to the national origins of those who inhabited Colonial Pennsylvania. In 1681, before the arrival of Penn's settlers, the territory contained about 500 whites, principally Swedes on the banks of the Delaware.⁶⁶ Penn estimated (1685) that about 7,200 persons had come to Pennsylvania "since the beginning of '82," and that at least a thousand were there before.⁶⁷ Francis Daniel Pastorius, on the other hand, set the figure at 4,000 for the year 1684.⁶⁸ According to the testimony of contemporaries, Pennsylvania's Colonial popu-

⁶¹ Diffenderffer, *German Immigration*, 103.

⁶² Charles H. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1901), 35.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Wayland F. Dunaway, *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill, 1944), 42.

⁶⁵ Wayland F. Dunaway, "The English Settlers in Colonial Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, LII (1928), 340-41.

⁶⁶ Franklin B. Dexter, *Estimates of Population in the American Colonies* (Worcester, Mass., 1887), 17; Dunaway, "The English Settlers . . .," *PMHB*, LII, 322-33.

⁶⁷ Penn, "A Further Account . . .," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 260.

⁶⁸ Francis D. Pastorius, "Circumstantial Geographical Description . . . of Pennsylvania . . . 1700," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 360.

lation grew from approximately 20,000 inhabitants in 1700 to about 350,000 in 1774.⁶⁹

Some conception of the movement of the frontier may be obtained from a study of population statistics of those counties that were in existence prior to the outbreak of the Revolution. It must be borne in mind, however, that the basis for the formation of a new county did not rest solely on the number of people living within the proposed boundaries; political considerations frequently played a more decisive role in determining the question.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the expansion of the frontier westward and the consequent settlement of new territory were made possible by increments to the population both from natural causes and from immigration.⁷¹

According to Hazard, the three original counties of Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester, formed in 1683, had by 1770 the following number of taxables respectively: Philadelphia, 10,455; Bucks, 3,177; Chester, 5,484. If we should assign what Hazard considers to be a reasonable ratio of one taxable to every five inhabitants,⁷² Philadelphia County in 1770 would have had 52,275 souls. Bucks would have contained 15,885, and Chester County would have had 27,420 persons for the same period.

Applying Hazard's yardstick to the new counties for the year 1770, Lancaster would have had a total population of 33,040; York, 22,135; Cumberland, 17,605; and Berks and Northampton 16,510 and 13,965, respectively. Since the pre-Revolutionary counties of Bedford, Northumberland, and Westmoreland did not exist prior to 1771, no statistics are available for 1770. However, for the year 1779, Bedford would have had 6,005 and Northumberland and Westmoreland counties 10,555 persons each.⁷³

Though Colonial society was made up of diverse national origins, its structure, at least in its formative period, was relatively simple.

⁶⁹ Dexter, *Estimates of Population*, 17-18; Proud, *History*, II, 275; Mittelberger, *Journey*, 107; Mellick, "German Emigration . . .," *PMHB*, X, 391; Watson, *Annals*, II, 405; Lincoln, *Revolutionary Movement*, 34-35.

⁷⁰ See section on "Political Life," *infra*, 15-19.

⁷¹ Thomas, "An Historical and Geographical Account . . .," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 333; Mittelberger, *Journey*, 107; Mellick, "German Emigration . . .," *PMHB*, X, 391; Dunaway, "The English Settlers . . .," *ibid.*, LII, 41; Howard W. Kriebel, "The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania German Society, *Proceedings and Addresses*, XIII (1904), 39; Albert C. Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682-1750* (Swarthmore, 1902), 83; Bittinger, *Germans*, 298-99; Diffenderffer, *German Immigration*, 97-106.

⁷² Hazard's *Register*, IV, 12-13.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

There was no hereditary aristocracy; nor were there insurmountable barriers between classes except for those who were slaves. At the same time there did exist a certain hierarchy based on wealth and occupation.⁷⁴

Slavery existed in Pennsylvania as early as 1648.⁷⁵ It did not, however, assume significance as a general social phenomenon until a few years after the founding of the Province; and no public protestation against it was made from 1681 to 1688.⁷⁶ On April 18, 1688, but six years after the colony had been established, the German Quakers at Germantown declared: "Here is liberty of conscience, which is right and reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of the body. . . ."⁷⁷ This marked the first formal protest against the institution in America and the launching of the movement for abolition in Pennsylvania.⁷⁸

In 1696 it was officially discouraged by the Quaker yearly meeting, and from 1715 on the importation of slaves was a disownable offense.⁷⁹ Legislation designed to curb and discourage the importation of slaves was successively enacted by the Provincial Assembly, only to be repeatedly repealed by the Privy Council on the grounds of interfering with British interests.⁸⁰ Beginning with George Keith's essay, written before the close of the eighteenth century, there was a long succession of pamphlets, books, and other published material against the traffic in slaves.⁸¹ Slavery was an unpopular institution in the Province, and early languished because of widespread disapproval.⁸²

Slightly above the slaves in the social scale were the indentured servants. They differed from the former in that their period of servitude was specified; adults bound themselves in writing to serve from three to six years, while children, "from 10 to 15 years, must

⁷⁴ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 10.

⁷⁵ Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 335.

⁷⁶ Edward Bettle, "Notices of Negro Slavery as Connected with Pennsylvania," *Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Memoirs*, I (1826), 364. These *Memoirs* are cited hereafter as *HSPM*.

⁷⁷ Asa E. Martin and Hiram H. Shenk (eds.), *Pennsylvania History Told by Contemporaries* (New York, 1925), 169; Isaac Sharpless, *A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1899), II, 226.

⁷⁸ Struthers Burt, *Philadelphia: Holy Experiment* (Garden City, N. Y., 1946), 63; Sharpless, *Quaker Government*, II, 226.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; Tolles, *Meeting House*, 88.

⁸⁰ William R. Riddell, "Pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania and the Slave Trade," *PMHB*, LII (1928), 5 ff.; Proud, *History*, II, 274.

⁸¹ Thomas I. Wharton, "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," *HSPM*, I (1826), 135.

⁸² Proud, *History*, II, 274.

serve until they are 21 years old." They sold their services to defray the cost of their passage to Philadelphia.⁸³ That life under bondage was distasteful is evidenced by the fact that some of them attempted to escape from their masters. The Provincial Council, while still in its infancy, felt compelled to pass a law increasing the length of servitude of those who ran away, and to agree unanimously to issue a proclamation "to Impower Masters to Chastise their Servants, and to punish any y^t shall Inveyle [*sic*] any Servant to goe from his Master."⁸⁴

Despite these legal precautions, newspapers throughout the Colonial period carried advertisements of masters seeking their runaway servants.⁸⁵ Though poor conditions of sea travel and the danger of illness made the importation of such servants a disagreeable business, and some merchants, especially Quakers, were dissuaded from its continuance, the traffic in indentured servants continued.⁸⁶ In 1740 the Assembly enlisted indentured servants as soldiers by the simple expedient of paying their masters for their services.⁸⁷

Except occasionally, few voices were raised in protest against this well-organized and profitable trade.⁸⁸ While many slaves, especially those held by Quakers, had been manumitted by their owners before the gradual emancipation act of 1779 provided for the eventual extinction of slavery in Pennsylvania, indentured servants constituted a considerable portion of the population all during the Colonial period.⁸⁹ As late as 1810, the Pennsylvania legislature passed an act requiring that German redemptioners receive six weeks of schooling per annum during the period of their servitude.⁹⁰

Aside from the few whose wealth enabled them to purchase large tracts of land from Penn, the bulk of the original colonists settling in Pennsylvania were either workers, artisans, small shopkeepers, or farmers.⁹¹ But three years after the settlement of the Province Penn

⁸³ Mittelberger, *Journey*, 25-27.

⁸⁴ Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*, I, 23-24.

⁸⁵ For examples, see James Mulhern, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1933), 6; Martin and Shenk (eds.), *Pennsylvania History*, 469-71.

⁸⁶ Parrington, *Colonial Mind*, 134; Mittelberger, *Journey*, 25-29.

⁸⁷ Proud, *History*, II, 220-21.

⁸⁸ Mittelberger, *Journey*, 16; Parrington, *Colonial Mind*, 134.

⁸⁹ Sharpless, *Quaker Government*, II, 226; Mittelberger, *Journey*, 25-29, 37-38; Bittinger, *Germans*, 217-19.

⁹⁰ Act of March 19, 1810, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1809-1810*, p. 99.

⁹¹ Sachse (ed.), *Falckner's Curieuse*, 105, 153, 157; Beard and Beard, *Basic History*, 30; Lucy F. Bittinger, *German Religious Life in Colonial Times* (Philadelphia, 1906), 26; Tolles, *Meeting House*, 38-42.

wrote: "There inhabits most sorts of useful Tradesmen, As Carpenters, Joyners, Bricklayers, Masons, Plasterers, Plumers, Smiths, Glasiers, Taylers, Shoemakers, Butchers, Bakers, Brewers, Glovers, Tanners, Felmongers, Wheelrights, Millrights, Shiprights, Boatrights, Rope-makers, Saylmakers, Blockmakers, Turners, etc."⁹² Gabriel Thomas, whose propensity for exaggeration has already been noted, in 1698 listed some sixty different trades that were being gainfully pursued.⁹³

In a detailed analysis of the social origins of the early Quakers, Frederick B. Tolles establishes that these people, who early came to dominate the mercantile and industrial enterprises of Colonial Pennsylvania, rose from the ranks of the working classes and the small shopkeepers.⁹⁴ Proud described them as "sober, industrious and substantial people, of low, or moderate fortunes. . . ."⁹⁵

The very nature of frontier society and the innumerable opportunities for economic advancement provided an environment that promoted a good deal of mobility between social classes.⁹⁶ Signs of this were early evident in the nascent society. Noting the advance that had been made by some of the settlers, Penn in 1684 recorded some of "their Improvements. Houses over their heads and Garden plots, Coverts for their Cattle, an encrease of stock, and several Enclosures in Corn, especially the first Commers; and I may say of some Poor men was [*sic*] the beginnings of an Estate; the difference of labouring for themselves and for others. . . ."⁹⁷

Gabriel Thomas, with some degree of truth, painted a glowing picture of a worker's paradise, where demands for his products were unceasing and the remuneration for his labors eminently satisfactory.⁹⁸ His testimony is corroborated some twenty years later by an observer whose sobriety and judgment are well regarded. Jonathan Dickinson, a prosperous merchant in his own right, noted that "Many who have come over under covenants for four years [as indentured servants] are now masters of great estates."⁹⁹ Such examples could be multiplied. It may be sufficient, however, to note that "By the early years of the eighteenth century, Friends like George Mifflin, shopkeeper, and

⁹² Penn, "A Further Account . . .," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 261.

⁹³ Thomas, "An Historical and Geographical Account . . .," *ibid.*, 326-28.

⁹⁴ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 38-41.

⁹⁵ Proud, *History*, I, 216-17.

⁹⁶ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 10; Tolles, *Meeting House*, 114.

⁹⁷ Penn, "A Further Account . . .," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 263.

⁹⁸ Thomas, "An Historical and Geographical Account . . .," *ibid.*, 326-28.

⁹⁹ Watson, *Annals*, II, 266.

Samuel Powel, carpenter, had accumulated enough capital to launch mercantile ventures of their own."¹⁰⁰

Based on the accumulated fortunes from overseas ventures and the profits reaped from a small but constantly expanding domestic industry, an aristocracy of wealth arose whose luxurious style of living compared with "that of the Virginia planters, the landed gentry of the Hudson Valley, and the Puritan merchant princes of Boston."¹⁰¹ "Society," particularly that of Philadelphia, was exclusive and select.¹⁰² The dress of those in this group was fashionable and extravagant. They entertained lavishly, and their weddings "were very expensive and harassing to the wedded." By the close of the Revolution a few of the ladies sported "transplanted teeth," fitted for them by a Dr. Le Mayeur. "This was quite a novelty in Philadelphia," and the doctor "went off with a great deal of our patricians' money."¹⁰³

3. POLITICAL LIFE

The early political life of the Province was perhaps best described by a German who experienced its benign effects. He said: "The present colonies are governed according to the English law, which pleases me greatly as there is ample freedom, and no absolute tyranny."¹⁰⁴ Daniel Falckner, of course, was speaking specifically of Pennsylvania; for the common law in some colonies, notably in New England, was distinctly rejected as inferior, and the "Law of God" substituted in its place.¹⁰⁵ To the early German colonists, whose lack of ambition and interest in politics stemmed from the religious principles of the Mennonites that forbade participation in government, Penn's colony, by contrast with the land of their origin, represented a haven of political freedom and justice.¹⁰⁶

Influenced by the Whig philosophy, Penn declared that "any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, and confusion."¹⁰⁷ This political freedom, however, had its limitations. There were slaves as well as freemen.

¹⁰⁰ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 115.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 109; Adams, *Provincial Society*, 10.

¹⁰² Parrington, *Colonial Mind*, 166.

¹⁰³ Mittelberger, *Journey*, 116-17; Watson, *Annals*, I, 174, 178-79.

¹⁰⁴ Sachse (ed.), *Falckner's Curieuse*, 189.

¹⁰⁵ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 14.

¹⁰⁶ Bittinger, *German Religious Life*, 13; Bittinger, *Germans*, 12.

¹⁰⁷ Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*, I, xxiii; Tolles, *Meeting House*, 11.

Women had no political existence. The right to vote and hold office was circumscribed by laws requiring the ownership of a certain amount of land or of other wealth.¹⁰⁸ Those who held non-Christian religious beliefs could neither elect or be elected to any public office or to the Council or Assembly. Nor did all Christians enjoy equal political privileges. Citizenship disqualifications were decreed against those who did not embrace Protestantism.¹⁰⁹

The Frame of 1682 placed the instruments of government in the hands of a Governor, a Provincial Council, and a General Assembly. Political power, according to Penn's plan, was to rest predominantly in the hands of the Governor and his Council, the latter to be composed of men "of most note for their wisdom, virtue and ability,"¹¹⁰ the word ability signifying, as it frequently did in the seventeenth century, wealth or monetary power.¹¹¹ Though originally an elective body, the Council represented the proprietary interests.¹¹² The Governor presided over its sessions and had a "treble voice." On the other hand, the legislative body representing the people, the General Assembly, had very limited powers. It could not initiate legislation; it could only accept or reject laws proposed by the Council.¹¹³

From the outset a struggle for power ensued between those two bodies, and became so harassing to the Proprietor as to cause him to cry out: "For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so *governmentish*."¹¹⁴ A new frame of government was demanded by the Assembly, and in 1701 Penn granted it.¹¹⁵ The Council was made an appointive body and shorn of its legislative powers; and the Assembly was granted the right, for which it had so long contended, of initiating legislation and of sitting on its own adjournment.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸ Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*, I, xxix-xxx, xlii-xliii; Proud, *History*, II, 285.

¹⁰⁹ Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*, I, xxxiii, xliii; Charles Stillé, "Religious Tests in Provincial Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, IX (1885), 376 ff.; Frank H. Eshleman, "The Struggle and Rise of Popular Power in Pennsylvania's First Two Decades (1682-1701)," *ibid.*, XXXIV (1910), 156.

¹¹⁰ Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*, I, xxiv.

¹¹¹ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 117.

¹¹² William R. Shepherd, *History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1896), 317-18; Eshleman, "The Struggle . . .," *PMHB*, XXXIV, 129; Lawrence Lewis, Jr., "The Courts of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century," *ibid.*, V (1881), 166.

¹¹³ Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*, I, xxv-xxvi.

¹¹⁴ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 12; Eshleman, "The Struggle . . .," *PMHB*, XXXIV, 135.

¹¹⁵ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 114; Eshleman, "The Struggle . . .," *PMHB*, XXXIV, 155.

¹¹⁶ Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*, II, 55; Tolles, *Meeting House*, 14, 117.

Despite the newly won frame of government, "political hegemony went hand in hand with economic wealth."¹¹⁷ The rapidly increasing population of Philadelphia and the newer counties represented a threat to the continued rule of the entrenched merchant class.¹¹⁸ Consequently, efforts were made to curb the influence of the numerically growing lower-class elements of the population both by suffrage qualifications and by limiting the representation of new counties. Lancaster, for example, on its formation in 1729, was allowed only four votes in the Assembly instead of the eight enjoyed by the older counties.¹¹⁹ Though the population greatly increased in the ensuing twenty years, no new counties were erected, and when in 1749 and 1750 two were created, they were granted only two members each, and in 1752 two others were given but one vote each.¹²⁰

Writing in 1755, William Smith condemned such inequities, attributing their existence to Quaker policy.¹²¹ Complaints against discrimination, described as "contrary to the Proprietor's Charter and the acknowledged principles of common justice and equity," were registered in 1764 by the frontier inhabitants of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton counties.¹²²

Separated from England by a vast ocean whose distance was measured by months rather than by miles of travel, by separatist tendencies engendered by life in relative isolation,¹²³ and by a rapidly rising commercial and industrial economy that afforded an independent material base for growing aspirations for liberty, a spirit of independence and self-determination was flowering in the Province that was eventually to culminate in the Revolution. This spirit was by no means shared by all the people. Members of the Episcopal church were quite consciously attached to the mother country. Their clergy in 1760 assured James Hamilton, the Lieutenant Governor of the Province, of their undiminished fidelity to the King.¹²⁴ Guided in large measure by extensive commercial ties with England, most of the more prosper-

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹¹⁸ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 255.

¹¹⁹ Proud, *History*, II, 285; Lincoln, *Revolutionary Movement*, 45.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

¹²¹ [William Smith], *A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania for the Year 1755* (London, 1756), 53.

¹²² Dunaway, *Scotch-Irish*, 124-25; Henry J. Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Princeton, 1915), 576-82.

¹²³ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 14.

¹²⁴ William S. Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, 5 vols. (Hartford, Conn., 1870-1878), II, 297.

ous Quakers were loathe to sever such profitable bonds, and expressed "abhorrence of all such writings and measures as evidence a desire and design to break off the happy connection we have hitherto enjoyed with the kingdom of Great Britain."¹²⁵

The voices of discontent were loudest on the frontier, inhabited largely by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The memory of onerous economic, political, social, and religious restrictions imposed upon them by the British in Ireland, which induced them to seek new freedoms in Pennsylvania, was still fresh in their minds.¹²⁶ Even prior to the Revolution they held meetings on the frontier protesting the acts of the British government. So prominent a role did they play in the Revolutionary movement that the English officers were wont to call the war "a Scotch-Irish rebellion."¹²⁷

The Germans, too, had cause to complain of the discriminatory treatment they were receiving at the hands of a proprietary government. The counties in which they comprised the majority of the population were denied equal representation with the older counties in the Assembly.¹²⁸ In 1729, in an effort to discourage further German immigration, taxes were imposed on immigrants.¹²⁹ Colonial leaders like Franklin and William Smith considered them a threat to continued British hegemony in the colony. Franklin warned in 1753 that unless immigration restrictions were placed upon them, "we . . . will . . . not be able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious."¹³⁰ William Smith characterized them as ignorant tools of the self-seeking Quakers.¹³¹

The efforts to establish charity schools among them, initiated about this time by Smith and others, were quite evidently aimed at assuring their loyalty to the colonial government of the British crown.¹³² William Smith suggested that these schools could become the instrument whereby he could effect the conversion of the Lutherans to the

¹²⁵ Jenkins (ed.), *Pennsylvania*, II, 28; Ford, *Scotch-Irish*, 478.

¹²⁶ Dunaway, *Scotch-Irish*, 28; Ford, *Scotch-Irish*, 576.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 473-74; Jenkins (ed.), *Pennsylvania*, II, 28.

¹²⁸ [Smith], *Brief View*, 53; Adams, *Provincial Society*, 255.

¹²⁹ Jenkins (ed.), *Pennsylvania*, I, 511.

¹³⁰ John Bigelow (ed.), *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, 12 vols. (New York, 1904), II, 298.

¹³¹ [Smith], *Brief State*, 52-54.

¹³² *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792 . . .* (Philadelphia, 1903), 143; Martin G. Brumbaugh, *An Educational Struggle in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1898), 17; Samuel E. Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1754-1763* (Philadelphia, 1905), 28.

Episcopal church.¹³³ This view was concurred in by the Reverend Thomas Barton, the Anglican missionary at Lancaster, who wrote in 1764 that "German Lutherans have frequently in their coetus's proposed a union with the Church of England. . . ."¹³⁴

In common with the other colonists, the Germans, during this period of approaching crisis, "were divided in their sympathies although there is hardly any doubt that the majority of them favored the colonies."¹³⁵

Revolutionary movements have had little difficulty in finding philosophical justification for their causes. The colonists found a powerful theoretical weapon in the writings of John Locke. They regarded his work not as mere justification for the Revolution of 1688, not as a statement of principles to be realized in the future, but as a recitation of an historic fact. He had enunciated the fundamental tenet of revolution in the doctrine of natural rights, and he had maintained that "taxation without representation" was subversive of such rights.¹³⁶ There was a growing spirit of rationalism in the Colonies that was rapidly supplanting the dogma of Calvinist authoritarianism. The influence of the social philosophers, of Milton, Locke, and Rousseau, spread among the liberals of the New World and kindled the desire for independence.¹³⁷ Pennsylvania was fertile soil for the reception of such ideas. Despite the resistance of those who identified their interests with England, philosophical unity was gradually achieved. Perhaps no one was more responsible for the solidarity in Colonial thinking than Tom Paine. It was he who brought light and *Common Sense* to a "public opinion long befogged by legal quibble" by a "direct and skillful appeal to material interests."¹³⁸

4. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

Freedom of conscience, the right to worship as one chooses, was an integral part of the philosophy of the founder of Pennsylvania. "The Government is according to the words of the Grant," Penn wrote, "as near to the English as conveniently may be: . . . with Liberty to all People to worship Almighty God, according to their Faith and Per-

¹³³ *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, 138; Bittinger, *Germans*, 160.

¹³⁴ Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, 367.

¹³⁵ James O. Knauss, Jr., *Social Conditions Among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century* (Lancaster, 1922), 151.

¹³⁶ Lincoln, *Revolutionary Movement*, 9; Parrington, *Colonial Mind*, 189.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 149-51.

¹³⁸ Lincoln, *Revolutionary Movement*, 13; Parrington, *Colonial Mind*, 329-33.

swasion."¹³⁹ Nor did this remain but a philosophically held belief. The free exercise of individual religious conviction was incorporated into the basic laws of the colony.¹⁴⁰

Observations of contemporaries tend to confirm the fact that the practice was consistent with both the principles of the founder and the laws of the Province. Pastorius declared in 1700, that "although the oft-mentioned William Penn is one of the sect of Friends, or Quakers, still he will compel no man to belong to his particular society; but he has granted to every one free and untrammelled exercise of their opinions and the largest and most complete liberty of conscience."¹⁴¹

By 1750, so great was the variety and diversity of religious beliefs that Mittelberger could speak of Pennsylvania as a colony possessing "great liberties above all other English colonies, inasmuch as all religious sects are tolerated there. We find there Lutherans, Reformed, Catholics, Quakers, Mennonists or Anabaptists, Herrnhuters or Moravian Brethren, Pietists, Seventh Day Baptists, Dunkers, Presbyterians, Newborn, Freemasons, Separatists, Freethinkers, Jews, Mohammedans, Pagans. . . ."¹⁴² Thomas Barton, Anglican minister at Lancaster, in a letter to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, November 16, 1764, complained: "The County of Lancaster contains upwards of 40,000 Souls; of this Number not more than 500 can be reckon'd as belonging to the Church of England. . . ."¹⁴³

From the outset the English and Irish Quakers predominated.¹⁴⁴ These were followed shortly by the German "Separatists," those who disassociated themselves from the regularly organized churches of the Lutherans and the Reformed. By the close of the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, however, the numerical superiority of the "sects" was offset by a large influx of Lutheran and Reformed, and

¹³⁹ Penn, "A Further Account . . .," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 276.

¹⁴⁰ Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*, I, xxxiii. Charles J. Stillé maintained in his "Religious Tests in Provincial Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, IX, 368, that the first enactment of the principle of religious liberty into law on this continent was to be found in the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776. Doubtless he overlooked the prior enactment of the "Laws Agreed upon in England," May 5, 1682.

¹⁴¹ Pastorius, "A Particular Geographical Description . . .," *Old South Leaflets*, No. 95, p. 13; see also Mittelberger, *Journey*, 54-55.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, 366.

¹⁴⁴ Penn, "A Further Account . . .," Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 260; Dunaway, "The English Settlers . . .," *PMHB*, LII, 340-41; Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers*, 83.

from this time on they constituted the majority of the German population.¹⁴⁵ The second half of the eighteenth century marked the beginning of the decline of the numerical and political hegemony of the Quakers.¹⁴⁶ Of the 220,000 inhabitants estimated by William Smith in 1755, he assumed one-half to be German. "Of the Residue not quite two Fifths are *Quakers*. Above that Number are *Presbyterians*; and the remaining Fifth are of the *establish'd Church*, with some few *Anabaptists*."¹⁴⁷

Throughout the colonial period the Catholic population was small. The best estimates place the total number of Catholics in the United States by the close of the Revolution at 24,000 and in Pennsylvania at 2,200.¹⁴⁸

Episcopalian and Presbyterian interests were emerging as dominant forces in Pennsylvania Colonial life, particularly in Philadelphia.¹⁴⁹ In the newer counties of York, Lancaster, and Berks, the Lutheran and Reformed constituted the bulk of the population; and in Cumberland, Northumberland, and the counties of southwestern Pennsylvania, the Presbyterians predominated.¹⁵⁰ The attitude of these various religious groups toward higher education will be discussed in the following chapters.

5. CULTURAL LIFE

Early Pennsylvania colonists were not all crude and uncultured men. It is true that most of them lacked the benefits of formal education. Yet there were men of liberal learning among those who were carving a life out of the forests of Pennsylvania. Francis Daniel Pastorius has been called "the most learned man of his day in America—not forgetting Cotton Mather—and he was far in advance of the New England divine in the breadth of his education."¹⁵¹ Culturally, Pastorius was the most notable of the early Pennsylvania immigrants, but he was not the only immigrant of German origin who contributed to the intellectual and religious life of the colony. There were "deeply read

¹⁴⁵ Bittinger, *German Religious Life*, 24, 53; Joseph H. Dubbs, "The Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, XVII (1893), 243.

¹⁴⁶ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 21.

¹⁴⁷ [Smith], *Brief State*, 4.

¹⁴⁸ Dunaway, *Scotch-Irish*, 42; Bittinger, *German Religious Life*, 76.

¹⁴⁹ C. P. B. Jeffreys, "The Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, 1753-1783," *PMHB*, XLVII (1923), 338.

¹⁵⁰ Dunaway, *Scotch-Irish*, 72-73; Dunaway, "The English Settlers . . .," *PMHB*, LII, 338-39; Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, 315, 366-67.

¹⁵¹ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 7; Bittinger, *Germans*, 152.

mystics like Kelpius; leaders and organizers such as the Weisers, or Bolzius of Ebenezer; men, at least of ability, such as Beissel must have possessed to obtain over many men of many minds the ascendancy which he had."¹⁵²

The Quakers too contributed men of scholarly attainments. James Logan, Penn's secretary, possessed wide learning, most of it, as he claims, self-acquired. He tells us in his autobiography that he had learned "Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew, before I was 13 years of age."¹⁵³ As the colony advanced in years and in population it attracted men of accomplishment in the arts and sciences. Their contributions to the cultural life of the Province will be revealed as we discuss particularly the advance made in the field of science.

The fruits of the press in the form of books, newspapers, and periodicals constitute at least one measure of the status of culture in a society. Scarcely four years had elapsed from the time of the first settlement in Pennsylvania when a press was established and "An Almanac for the year of the Christian account 1687," was published by William Bradford. In 1699 he printed the work of Pennsylvania's first author, Daniel Leeds, whose volume, "A Trumpet sounded out of the Wilderness, of America . . .," was a diatribe against Quakerism.¹⁵⁴ The first newspaper published in the Middle Colonies, the *American Weekly Mercury*, was begun in Philadelphia in 1719 by Andrew Bradford. Franklin described it as "a paltry thing, wretchedly manag'd, [and] no way entertaining. . . ."¹⁵⁵ This was followed in 1728 by Keimer's *Universal Instructor*. It was not, however, until Franklin took over this paper as the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, that Pennsylvania had a creditable newspaper. Following the *Gazette*, the *Pennsylvania Journal* was founded in 1742, the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* in 1767, and the *Pennsylvania Packet* in 1771, which in 1784 became the first daily newspaper printed in the United States.¹⁵⁶

The only foreign-language press in Colonial Pennsylvania was German. It has been estimated that approximately thirty-eight German

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Logan's autobiography, quoted in Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers*, 238.

¹⁵⁴ Wharton, "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," *HSPM*, I, 105-106.

¹⁵⁵ Franklin, *Autobiography*, 70; Charles R. Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing: The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1885-1886), I, viii.

¹⁵⁶ Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, 2 vols. (Worcester, Mass., 1947), II, 933, 942.

newspapers sprang into existence at various times from 1732 to the close of the century.¹⁵⁷ The first such newspaper, the *Philadelphische Zeitung*, was issued May 6, 1732. Benjamin Franklin was its publisher, and, though only two numbers are known to have been issued, to him must be attributed the distinction of having given to America its first German-language newspaper.¹⁵⁸ The first German newspaper which lived beyond the experimental state was Christopher Sauer's *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschichts-Schreiber*, established in 1739 and continuing until 1778.¹⁵⁹ Aside from newspapers and a few publications of the Ephrata community, the issues of the German presses were largely reprints of European works.¹⁶⁰ Though the native press was becoming increasingly more productive, Colonial Pennsylvania relied in the main on foreign importations for the bulk of its books.¹⁶¹

Libraries sprang up which "improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges."¹⁶² Beginning with the Library Company of Philadelphia, "the mother of all the North American subscription libraries,"¹⁶³ established by Franklin and the Junto on July 1, 1731, numerous libraries were initiated by associations designed specifically for that purpose. Among these were the Union Library Company of Philadelphia (1746) and the Amicable Library Company of Philadelphia organized in 1757.¹⁶⁴ There was also one free library in Philadelphia. By his will of November 25, 1749, James Logan bequeathed to the city of Philadelphia, "for the facilitating and advancement of classical learning," his famous and valuable library.¹⁶⁵ In 1792 the Loganian Library became a part of the Library Company of Philadelphia.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁷ Knauss, *Social Conditions*, 1.

¹⁵⁸ Julius F. Sachse, "The First German Newspaper Published in America," Pennsylvania German Society, *Proceedings and Addresses*, X (1900), 41-42; Hildeburn, *Printing*, I, viii; Knauss, *Social Conditions*, 2.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 3; Hildeburn, *Printing*, I, viii.

¹⁶⁰ Bittinger, *Germans*, 153; Hildeburn, *Printing*, I, viii.

¹⁶¹ Mulhern, *Secondary Education*, 21.

¹⁶² Franklin, *Autobiography*, 79.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*; Charles I. Landis, "The Juliana Library Company in Lancaster," *PMHB*, XLIII (1919), 24.

¹⁶⁴ E. V. Lamberton, "Colonial Libraries of Pennsylvania," *ibid.*, XLII (1918), 195, 197, 200.

¹⁶⁵ Logan's will, quoted *ibid.*, 208; see also *Hazard's Register*, I, 133-34; VIII, 414-15.

¹⁶⁶ Landis, "The Juliana Library Company in Lancaster," *PMHB*, XLIII, 25.

Outside of Philadelphia there was a good deal of interest evinced in the establishment of libraries. Twenty-nine men of the town of Darby, principally Friends, met on March 10, 1743, and agreed to form a library.¹⁶⁷ The Germans of Germantown formed the first library among non-English settlers in 1745.¹⁶⁸ Shortly after Braddock's defeat the Union Library Company of Hatborough, in what is now Montgomery County, was initiated on August 2, 1755.¹⁶⁹ Citizens of Lancaster, under articles of association dated December 4, 1759, organized the Lancaster Library Company. This was chartered October 22, 1763, as the "Juliana Library Company in Lancaster," in honor of Lady Juliana Penn, wife of Thomas Penn.¹⁷⁰ In Chester in 1769 a number of influential citizens paid a sum of money agreed to by each and chose officers for the library of that town.¹⁷¹

The literary productions of provincial Pennsylvanians were largely concerned with religion and politics.¹⁷² However, works in a lighter vein early made their appearance, and from 1731 to 1760 "some poem or play came forth at least annually from a native pen."¹⁷³ Though "the proportion of wheat to chaff [was] distressingly small," some of these early efforts are to be commended for their "sprightliness and ease."¹⁷⁴ Among those who made their contributions to the muse were a few ladies, whom Francis H. Williams characterized as displaying "more piety than poetry."¹⁷⁵ About the year 1766, one of these, signing herself "Fidelia," addressed a poem entitled "The Maid's Husband" to "Sophronia." Here follows the first stanza:

Sophronia, here behold the perfect man!
Such be your lot,—and find him—if you can!
The maiden's whim, dres't by poetic art
To charm the fancy, and engage the heart.¹⁷⁶

The fine arts languished for want of patronage. Mittelberger stated in 1750 that "The cultivation of music is rather rare as yet. In the

¹⁶⁷ Lamberton, "Colonial Libraries of Pennsylvania," *ibid.*, XLII, 219-20.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 222-23.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 225.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 227-29; Landis, "The Juliana Library Company of Lancaster," *ibid.*, XLIII, 25, 31-32.

¹⁷¹ Lamberton, "Colonial Libraries of Pennsylvania," *ibid.*, XLII, 233-34.

¹⁷² Hildeburn, *Printing*, I, vi.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, Wharton, "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," *HSPM*, I, 114.

¹⁷⁴ Joshua F. Fisher, "Some Account of the Early Poets and Poetry of Pennsylvania," *ibid.*, II (1830), 56-57; Francis H. Williams, "Pennsylvania Poets of the Provincial Period," *PMHB*, XVII (1893), 33.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁷⁶ *Hazard's Register*, IX, 238-39.

capital city, Philadelphia, no music is made either in the English or in the German churches. . . . I came to the country with the first organ, which now stands in a High German Lutheran church in the city of Philadelphia. . . ." ¹⁷⁷ Although there was a trace of a musical society in 1740 and Dr. Alexander Hamilton reported attendance in 1744 at a "Musick Club," there is no evidence of a public concert in Philadelphia at least for the first half of the eighteenth century. ¹⁷⁸ Outside of Philadelphia, the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem, founded in 1741, offered perhaps the best music to be found in the Colonies and was destined to become the mecca for the lovers of Bach in America. The theater, too, suffered for lack of interest. There were puppet shows in Philadelphia in 1742; but dramatic performances were virtually non-existent. ¹⁷⁹

In contrast to the arts, the contributions of Colonial Pennsylvanians to the sciences were remarkably numerous and significant. John Bartram, whom Linnaeus characterized as "the greatest natural botanist in the world," founded the first botanical garden in the colonies in 1718. ¹⁸⁰ The erudite and versatile James Logan was the first in America to make investigations in physiological botany and published at Leyden in 1739 a Latin treatise entitled *Experimenta et meletemata de Plantarum generatione*. Bartram's son William continued the work of his father and published an account of his travels in 1791 through Florida, Carolina, and Georgia in search "of rare and useful productions of nature." ¹⁸¹ The "Father of American Materia Medica," Benjamin Smith Barton of Philadelphia, in 1800 published his *Elements of Botany*, the first textbook on the subject in America. ¹⁸²

The sciences of mathematics and astronomy engaged the attention of one of the finest scientific minds of the eighteenth century. In his eulogium pronounced upon David Rittenhouse at the request of the American Philosophical Society, Dr. Benjamin Rush stated: "What a mind was here! without literary friends or society, and but two or three books, he became, before he had reached his four-and-twentieth

¹⁷⁷ Mittelberger, *Journey*, 114.

¹⁷⁸ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 275.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 276-77.

¹⁸⁰ Wharton, "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," *HSPM*, I, 133-34; Adams, *Provincial Society*, 271; Edgar F. Smith, "Early Science in Philadelphia," *PMHB*, LI, (1927), 16.

¹⁸¹ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 271; Wharton, "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," *HSPM*, I, 131, 134.

¹⁸² Smith, "Early Science in Philadelphia," *PMHB*, LI, 17.

year, the rival of the two greatest mathematicians in Europe."¹⁸³ This estimate of him was shared by Thomas Jefferson; and a foreign writer declared that "as a philosopher and man of science, America has not produced any one superior to David Rittenhouse."¹⁸⁴

Men of lesser attainments were also moved to observe the natural phenomena of their day. Julius F. Sachse reports that a Dr. Christopher Witt of Germantown recorded a description of the appearance of the "Great Comet" of 1743-1744, which he had viewed through his eight-foot telescope.¹⁸⁵

Franklin's discoveries in electricity not only advanced the status of knowledge in that field but also furthered the adoption of the experimental method as a basic methodology for future discoveries. Samuel Miller states that in 1752 Franklin "discovered the *identity of the electric fluid and lightning*; a discovery of the greatest practical utility; and, perhaps, the only one in the science under consideration, which was the result of a preconceived opinion, and of experiments instituted with an express view to ascertain the truth."¹⁸⁶ These findings were later confirmed by Messrs. Dalibard and Delor of France and led to Franklin's invention of the lightning rod.¹⁸⁷ At about the same time, Ebenezer Kinnersly working independently "distinguished himself by rediscovering the apparently contrary electricities of glass and resin, or sulphur. . . ."¹⁸⁸ Franklin encouraged Kinnersly to lecture and to demonstrate his experiments in electricity.¹⁸⁹

In the field of chemistry, Dr. John de Normandie laid the foundation which was to result in Philadelphia's being regarded as the center of scientific chemistry. He contributed "in a sense, too, to the appearance of Dr. Benjamin Rush's *Syllabus of Chemistry*; the first text-book written by an American and published in his home country (1770). . . ."¹⁹⁰

¹⁸³ Quoted in Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* . . . , 2 vols. (New York, 1803), I, 358 n.

¹⁸⁴ Wharton, "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," *HSPM*, I, 138.

¹⁸⁵ Julius F. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1899-1900), II, 87-88.

¹⁸⁶ Miller, *Retrospect*, I, 24.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 24-25; Franklin, *Autobiography*, 175-76.

¹⁸⁸ Miller, *Retrospect*, I, 25; Smith, "Early Science in Philadelphia," *PMHB*, LI, 22-23.

¹⁸⁹ Franklin, *Autobiography*, 173; Smith, "Early Science in Philadelphia," *PMHB*, LI, 22-23.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

Societies were formed to advance philosophical discussion and to stimulate scientific discovery. In 1727 Franklin formed the Junto for "mutual improvement . . . on any point of Morals, Politics, or Natural Philosophy. . . ." ¹⁹¹ Interest in the society declined and in 1743 Franklin and others formed the American Philosophical Society. ¹⁹² In 1744 Franklin described the Society as containing a physician, a botanist, a mathematician, a "Mechanician," a geographer, and a "General Nat. Philosopher." ¹⁹³ These societies were followed in later years by the Chemical Society of Philadelphia, "oldest organization of its class, in the world," the Academy of Natural Sciences, and the Franklin Institute. ¹⁹⁴

Only small sections of the population were affected by science and the arts. The former was the special province of the intellectually advanced, and the latter were luxuries reserved largely for the rich. ¹⁹⁵ Indeed, the path of scientific progress was frequently impeded by ignorance, prejudice, and superstition. The strong opposition encountered by Cotton Mather and Dr. Zabdiel Boylston in Boston in 1721 in their eventually successful efforts to introduce inoculation against smallpox was continued in Philadelphia by members of the clergy and others in 1722. ¹⁹⁶

Natural phenomena, too, aroused mixed reactions of scientific curiosity and intelligent interest on the one hand, and fear and ignorant superstition on the other. The "Great Comet" of 1743-1744 stimulated scientific observations by Dr. Christopher Witt and others; contrariwise, it induced a negative comment from Christopher Sauer which served to arouse the fears of "the ignorant and superstitious German community at large." ¹⁹⁷

6. EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY HERITAGE

Under the combined influences of Humanism and the Reformation, an educational system was established which in its principal outlines persisted until the close of the eighteenth century. It was a synthesis of the two great educational forces of the time, Christianity and

¹⁹¹ Franklin, *Autobiography*, 67; Adams, *Provincial Society*, 263.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*; Franklin, *Autobiography*, 124.

¹⁹³ Letter to Cadwallader Colden, April 5, 1744, *Hazard's Register*, VIII, 318.

¹⁹⁴ Smith, "Early Science in Philadelphia," *PMHB*, LI, 25-26.

¹⁹⁵ Adams, *Provincial Society*, 277.

¹⁹⁶ Watson, *Annals*, II, 372; Sachse, *German Sectarians*, II, 88; Miller, *Retrospect*, I, 285-86.

¹⁹⁷ Sachse, *German Sectarians*, II, 87-94.

classical antiquity, the latter with its twofold division: "firstly, its science and philosophy, as incorporated in the Aristotelian system and adopted already by the Middle Ages, and secondly, its poetry and eloquence, as imparted by the Humanists."¹⁹⁸ Prior to the sixteenth century, the university intellect was occupied, in the realm of the liberal arts, mainly with logic and metaphysics as interpreted by the Schoolmen. The energies of the students were devoted to the acquisition and practice of Latin eloquence. The classics were studied, little heed being given to their content, for the purpose of developing correctness of speech and precision of thought in displays of rhetoric both written and spoken. Disputations and declamations were the *sine qua non* of university life.¹⁹⁹

Contrary to the aim of medieval education which stressed the development of the ability to reason, the Humanists sought to produce "the complete citizen."²⁰⁰ This difference was summed up by Jules G. Compayré as follows:

The education of the Middle Ages, once rigid and repressive, which condemned the body to a regime too severe and the mind to a discipline too narrow, is now to be followed (at least in theory) by an education broader and more liberal; which will give due attention to hygiene and physical exercises; which will enfranchise the intelligence hitherto the prisoner of the syllogism; which will substitute real studies for the verbal subtleties of dialectic; which will give the preference to things over words; which, finally, instead of developing but a single faculty, the reason, and instead of reducing man to a sort of dialectic automaton, will seek to develop the whole man in mind and body, taste and knowledge, heart and will.²⁰¹

The vehicle for effecting such a transformation existed, for the Humanists, in the ancient languages. Their value lay not only in their broad cultural effects, but in their role as guides in the solution of the practical problems of living.²⁰² At the same time, the Reformation injected a stress on religion and theology into the universities; and

¹⁹⁸ Friedrich Paulsen, *German Education, Past and Present*, translated by T. Lorenz (London and Leipsic, 1908), 86.

¹⁹⁹ S. S. Laurie, *Studies in the History of Educational Opinion from the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1905), 32; Karl Von Raumer, "Verbal Realism," in Henry Barnard (ed.), *Memoirs of Eminent Teachers and Educators with Contributions to the History of Education in Germany* (Hartford, 1878), 425.

²⁰⁰ William H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (Cambridge, 1897), 182.

²⁰¹ Quoted in Laurie, *Educational Opinion*, 14-15.

²⁰² Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre*, 182 ff.; Paulsen, *German Education*, 41-42, 52-53.

this emphasis left its imprint on the colleges of Colonial America, as Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale College show.

Luther inveighed against the universities of his day and urged their "thorough purging." "What are they," he asked, save places "full of dissolute living," where "the Holy Scriptures and faith in Christ are lightly accounted of; and where the blind pagan, Aristotle, reigns solitary and alone, even to the dethroning of Christ?"²⁰³ He proposed revising the university curriculum. In the place of the abridged Aristotle he commended for "men of higher understanding" the pursuance of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages and the hitherto-neglected mathematics and history.²⁰⁴ Although Erasmus charged that "Wherever Lutheranism prevails, learning and liberal culture go to the ground," there is little question that Luther contributed significantly to the eventual liberalization of the university curriculum.²⁰⁵

The Reformation, made possible in the first place by the existence of universities,²⁰⁶ profoundly influenced the subsequent course of higher education. Aimed at the liberation of individual man, it sought his emancipation from tradition and authority. In conjunction with Humanism, it effected a revival of interest in this earthly life and waged an eventually successful battle against the restricting bonds of Scholastic philosophy and theology.²⁰⁷ Its principles were embodied in Calvin's institution at Geneva, which formed the model for such universities as Leyden and Edinburgh and which "was thought to have influenced the establishment of Emmanuel College, Cambridge University, in which so many of the founders of Harvard received their training."²⁰⁸

In Germany, too, the spirit of the Reformation was reflected in the universities by a revival of the classics and by a gradual subordination

²⁰³ Karl Von Raumer, "Luther's Views of Education and Schools," Barnard (ed.), *Memoirs . . . of Education in Germany*, 153; Frederick Eby, *Early Protestant Educators* (New York and London, 1931), 35-36.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 35-37; Von Raumer, "Luther's Views . . .," Barnard (ed.), *Memoirs . . . of Education in Germany*, 153 ff.; Laurie, *Educational Opinion*, 32-33.

²⁰⁵ Eby, *Protestant Educators*, 13, 19-20; Von Raumer, "Verbal Realism," Barnard (ed.), *Memoirs . . . of Education in Germany*, 427-28; Paulsen, *German Education*, 54.

²⁰⁶ Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1895), II, 230.

²⁰⁷ Paulsen, *German Education*, 46-47; Eby, *Protestant Educators*, 2-3; Karl Von Raumer, "The Schlettstadt School, and John Reuchlin," Barnard (ed.), *Memoirs . . . of Education in Germany*, 94.

²⁰⁸ Eby, *Protestant Educators*, 252-53.

of the influence of Scholasticism.²⁰⁹ Yet, so slow were the universities to adopt the new learning, that Friedrich Paulsen was constrained to note that the German universities at the close of the seventeenth century were regarded "as obsolete and dying institutions."²¹⁰ By the close of the eighteenth century, however, changes had occurred, sparked by the creation of two new universities, those of Halle (1694) and Gottingen (1737), which re-established the universities as the leading centers of science and literature in Germany. The first of these, the University of Halle, according to Paulsen, was "the first university in the modern sense of the word, not only in Germany, but in Europe." Its claim to this distinction was twofold: first, it had assimilated modern philosophy and science; and second, it had adopted freedom of thought and of teaching as formal educational principles. Prior to this time, in Protestant no less than at Catholic universities, the professors subscribed to approved doctrines which they were pledged to transmit unchanged. In Halle, however, where "the principle of *libertas philosophandi*" triumphed from the outset, modern science and philosophy emerged not as officially established doctrinal systems, but as products of free thought and research.²¹¹

Relatively few of the products of this European university system emigrated to the new Province. With Penn, who had been a student at Christ Church College, Oxford University, and had been expelled for non-conformist views,²¹² came Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Wynne, and Griffith Owen, all practitioners of medicine. The first of these, Thomas Lloyd, had been educated at the University of Oxford and was a "Doctor of Physic."²¹³ The following year, Francis Daniel Pastorius arrived with a small company of Germans. He had attended four universities (Altdorf, Strassburg, Basel, and Jena) and had taken his doctor's degree at Altdorf in 1675.²¹⁴

In the main, those who had experienced some form of Old World higher education were ministers of the Gospel of European origin who

²⁰⁹ Paulsen, *German Education*, 53 ff.; Von Raumer, "The Schlettstadt School, and John Reuchlin," Barnard (ed.), *Memoirs . . . of Education in Germany*, 93-94.

²¹⁰ Paulsen, *German Education*, 116.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 116 ff.

²¹² William H. Dixon, *William Penn: An Historical Biography* (Philadelphia, 1851), 28-31.

²¹³ George W. Norris, *The Early History of Medicine in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1886), 10-12; Frederick P. Henry (ed.), *Standard History of the Medical Profession of Philadelphia* (Chicago, 1897), 21-22.

²¹⁴ Marion D. Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown* (Philadelphia, 1908), 63, 77, 117.

came to teach or to conduct church congregations and native-born Pennsylvanians who went abroad to study medicine. Of the former, Thomas Pears, in citing the number of Presbyterian ministers in the colony up to the year 1735, states that twenty-three were graduates of the University of Glasgow and nine of Edinburgh.²¹⁵

Among these were William Tennent and Francis Alison. Tennent, founder of the "Log College," was graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1685.²¹⁶ Alison, principal of the first synodical secondary school established in Pennsylvania by the Presbyterians and vice-provost of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, was educated at the University of Glasgow and was probably the first American minister to receive the D.D. degree from a foreign university.²¹⁷ Later arrivals included William Smith, first provost of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, who took his first degree from the University of Aberdeen (March, 1747); and Charles Nisbet, first principal of Dickinson College, who received his degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1754.²¹⁸

Among the German immigrants, those who played prominent roles in the educational life of the Province included George Michael Weiss, graduate of the University of Heidelberg (1725);²¹⁹ Michael Schlatter, superintendent of the German Charity Schools, educated at the universities of Leyden in Holland and Helmstadt in Germany;²²⁰ Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, graduate of the University of Gottingen (1738);²²¹ John William Hendel, one of the founders and vice-president of Franklin College, matriculated at the University of Heidelberg;²²² John Christopher Kunze, founder of the Seminarium at Phila-

²¹⁵ Thomas C. Pears, Jr., "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," Presbyterian Historical Society, *Journal*, XXX (1952), 117. The *Journal* will be cited hereafter as *PHSJ*.

²¹⁶ *ibid.*, 120.

²¹⁷ Leonard A. Morrison, *The History of the Alison or Allison Family in Europe and America, A.D. 1135 to 1893* (Boston, 1893), 122-23.

²¹⁸ Samuel Miller, *Memoir of the Rev. Charles Nisbet, D.D., Late President of Dickinson College, Carlisle* (New York, 1840), 16.

²¹⁹ James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792* (Reading, 1899), 113-14.

²²⁰ Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter* (Philadelphia, 1857), 31; Allen Johnson *et al.* (eds.), *The Dictionary of American Biography*, 22 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1958), XVI, 435-36. The last-named work will be cited hereafter as *DAB*.

²²¹ William J. Mann, *Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia, 1888), 12.

²²² Good, *Reformed Church*, 546.

delphia, student at the University of Leipsic;²²³ and Justus Henry Christian Helmuth, professor at the University of Pennsylvania, educated at Halle.²²⁴

Several native-born physicians studied abroad. Thomas Cadwalader attended the University of Rheims.²²⁵ John Redman pursued part of his medical education at the University of Edinburgh and graduated from the University of Leyden.²²⁶ The founder of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, John Morgan, received his M.D. from the University of Edinburgh.²²⁷ William Shippen, Jr., professor of surgery and anatomy at the College of Philadelphia, obtained his medical degree from the University of Edinburgh.²²⁸ The first professor of medical chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Rush, also completed his medical education at the University of Edinburgh, in June, 1768.²²⁹

²²³ William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 9 vols. (New York, 1857-1869), IX, 54.

²²⁴ Mann, *Muhlenberg*, 416-17; Sprague, *Annals*, IX, 51-54; *DAB*, VIII, 515-16.

²²⁵ Norris, *Medicine*, 22; *DAB*, III, 400-401.

²²⁶ Norris, *Medicine*, 30.

²²⁷ Joseph Carson, *A History of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1869), 44-45.

²²⁸ *DAB*, XVII, 117-18; Carson, *Medical Department*, 48-49.

²²⁹ Henry G. Good, *Benjamin Rush and His Services to American Education* (Berne, Indiana, 1918), 15-17; Nathan G. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush, Physician and Citizen, 1716-1813* (Philadelphia, 1934), 13-17.

CHAPTER II

Presbyterian Influence: Origins

FROM ITS settlement in 1681 to the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania had neither college nor university organized under and recognized by provincial law or authority. Formal education, even the most elementary, requires a state of social organization wherein a surplus of the material necessities of life exists, thus freeing some of its members from the productive process and thus affording them the leisure that organized schooling requires. In the early days of the Province, leisure was a scarce commodity. Few children could be released from the task of helping the family earn a livelihood. Daniel Falckner observed that "In the country schools . . . where the parents cannot spare the actual services of their children," teachers should take advantage of their "spare time in the mornings and evening . . . or . . . call them from their duties in turns; yea, even converse with them while they are at work. . . ."¹ Schooling may accompany but must not interfere with economic functions. But the establishment of an institution of higher education requires more than material readiness; the people must feel a need for it, they must be willing to support it and send their children to it. It is precisely here in the attitude of the people that the influence of the churches was manifested. Those denominations, like the Presbyterians, the German Reformed and the Lutherans, that demanded an educated clergy early directed their efforts towards founding colleges and seminaries for their training. And they established them as rapidly and as extensively as their means would permit. Contrariwise, those who opposed a "hireling priesthood" (the Quakers and the German sectarians are numbered among these) were either late in erecting institutions of higher education or failed to do so altogether. The institutional results of the differing attitudes, other than theological seminaries and colleges for women, are examined in the chapters comprising Part I. Separate chapters are devoted to the latter topics in Parts III and IV.

¹ Sachse (ed.), *Falckner's Curieuse*, 99.

1. THE LOG COLLEGE

The Presbyterians had long maintained an almost unbroken tradition of a liberally educated ministry. Nearly all of the Presbyterian ministers in the Colonies had received their education either in the universities of Scotland or Ireland or at one of the New England colleges.² Despite a dearth of ministers in the New World, they rarely thought of introducing any man into the ministry who had not received a college or university education.³ As a precondition for ordination "The Directory for the Publick Worship of God" (1728), required "the Minister of Christ," to be possessed of "Skill in the Original Languages, and in such Arts and Sciences as are Handmaids unto Divinity."⁴

Faced with an increase of newly organized churches, a diminution of the number of ministers trained in the Scottish universities, and a lack of prospective candidates possessed of the means for attending the New England colleges, the infant church was left to its own resources to provide for their education.⁵ Early recognition was given to this problem by John Thomson, who lamented that "partly the infancy, and partly the poverty of our circumstances, . . . render us unable to plant a seminary of learning among ourselves, and so to see to the education of our young candidates for the ministry. . . ."⁶ Francis Alison, on his arrival at Philadelphia in 1735, noted that "there was not a College, nor even a good grammar school in four Provinces, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Jersey and New York."⁷

The first official attempt to solve the problem was made by the Synod of Philadelphia in 1738 when it adopted the "Overture" of the Presbytery of Lewes. This overture described the situation with which the church was faced, and, in an attempt to overcome the "evil" and to provide the ministers so badly needed, proposed:

² Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 116-17.

³ Archibald Alexander, *Biographical Sketches of the Founder, and Principal Alumni of the Log College* (Princeton, 1845), 14.

⁴ *The Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms* . . . (Edinburgh, 1728), 497.

⁵ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 117.

⁶ Charles Hodge, *The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1851), I, 140.

⁷ Thomas C. Pears, Jr., (comp.), "Documentary History of William Tennent and the Log College" (Unpublished, mimeographed manuscript, 1940, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), 155.

that every student who has not studied with approbation, passing the usual courses in some of the New England, or European colleges, approved by public authority, shall, before he be encouraged by any Presbytery for the sacred work of the ministry, apply himself to this Synod, and that they appoint a committee of their members yearly, whom they know to be well skilled in the several branches of philosophy, and divinity, and the languages, to examine such students in this place, and finding them well accomplished in those several parts of learning, shall allow them a public testimonial from the Synod, which, till better provision be made, will in some measure answer the design of taking a degree in the college.⁸

The adoption of the Lewes Overture carried with it the implication that no institution existed within the bounds of the synod that could properly be called a college or a theological seminary. This was not quite the case. Some years before, William Tennent had begun his now famous Log College.⁹ There is little question that this was the first institution of its kind in the Colonies specifically designed for the education of Presbyterian ministers.¹⁰ Question does exist as to the exact date of its origin. Archibald Alexander, Thomas Murphy, James P. Wickersham, and Martin G. Brumbaugh claim 1726 as the date of its founding.¹¹ Nathaniel Irwin, writing in 1793, maintained that the institution had its beginnings "in or near ye year 1730;"¹² while Thomas C. Pears, Jr., amasses a good deal of evidence to support his contention that 1735 is the most logical date to mark the founding of Tennent's Log College.¹³

Few contemporary accounts of the institution exist. The earliest, and possibly the best, is that of the evangelist George Whitefield. Under the date of November 22, 1739, his journal states:

Set out for Neshaminy, 20 Miles distant from Trent-Town, where old Mr. Tennent lives, and keeps an Academy, and where I was to preach to Day, according to appointment. . . .

⁸ *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America . . . 1706-1788* (Philadelphia, [1841]), 141.

⁹ Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 22.

¹⁰ Thomas Murphy, *The Presbytery of the Log College; or, The Cradle of the Presbyterian Church in America* (Philadelphia, 1889), 66-67; Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 120.

¹¹ Murphy, *Presbytery*, 74; Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 36; James P. Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1886), 110; Brumbaugh, *Educational Struggle*, 3.

¹² Nathaniel Irwin, "Memoirs of the Presbyterian Church of Neshaminy," *PHSJ*, II (1904), 223.

¹³ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *ibid.*, XXX, 121-22.

It happened very providentially, that Mr. Tennent and his Brethren, are appointed to be a Presbytery, by the Synod; so that they intend Breeding up gracious Youths, and sending them out, from time to time, into our Lord's Vineyard.—The Place wherein the young Men study now, is, in contempt, called, *The College*: It is a Log-House, about 20 Foot long, and near as many broad; and to me it seem'd to resemble the School of the old Prophets; for that their Habitations were mean, and that they sought not great Things for themselves. . . . From this despised Place, 7 to 8 worthy Ministers of Jesus have lately been sent forth; more are almost ready to be sent; and a Foundation is now Laying for the Instruction of many others.¹⁴

Financial support for the seminary came from the fees of the students and the contributions of individuals and presbyteries. William Seward, Whitefield's traveling companion, records in his *Journal of a Voyage* that he visited Mr. Tennent April 23, 1740, and that "Mr. Whitefield and I gave each of us something towards the Support of this *Seminary*, which may justly be called a School of the Prophets."¹⁵ At its meeting of December 8, 1740, the Presbytery of New Londonderry noting "that there are several very promising & hopeful youths under y^e care & instruction of the Rev^d Mr. Tennent at Neshaminy, in order to their being educated & train'd up for y^e church in y^e gospel-ministry, some of whom have not a sufficiency of their own to support them in y^e course of their preparatory studies," proposed to come to their aid, and urged other congregations to do likewise.¹⁶ The Presbytery of New Brunswick, having just severed its connection with the Synod of Philadelphia,¹⁷ decided at its meeting of June 3, 1741, to apply some funds originally intended for that synod, "to the Support of some Students at Neshaminy they being in need of Assistance." They further agreed to send a letter "to the Several Societies under our Care," asking them "to make some provision for the Assistance of such Students."¹⁸

Questions were raised about the adequacy of the training afforded by the Log College. Men who had received their education in

¹⁴ George Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal from His Embarking After the Embargo to His Arrival at Savannah in Georgia* (Philadelphia, 1740), 142-44.

¹⁵ Cited in Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 123.

¹⁶ Records of the Sessions of the Londonderry Congregation, 1740-1791, p. 3, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

¹⁷ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 125.

¹⁸ Records of the New Brunswick Presbytery, 1738-1756, p. 24, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

European universities with their numerous professors and abundant facilities doubted that one individual was sufficiently competent in all fields of learning to produce the kind of minister Presbyterian tradition demanded.¹⁹ William Tennent had received his education at the University of Edinburgh from which he was graduated July 11, 1685, with the degree of Master of Arts.²⁰ He was recognized as a "Master in the latin & Greek languages," but it was believed that his proficiency in the arts and sciences by no means equaled his classical learning.²¹ It was because of such deficiencies in the education of those candidates for the ministry trained by Mr. Tennent and others that the synod adopted the Lewes Overture in 1738 and reaffirmed its position the following year.²² The synodical action, bitterly opposed by the Tennents, led to the schism in the church (1741), which persisted until the reunion of 1758.²³

Undoubtedly the action which sharpened the conflict between the proponents of the Log College and those who insisted upon an examination by the synod of the qualifications of noncollegiate candidates for the ministry was the licensing of John Rowland by the Presbytery of New Brunswick. According to Alexander, the presbytery had been established through the efforts of the friends of the Log College for the express purpose of licensing its graduates. The New Brunswick Presbytery was created by act of the synod on May 26, 1738.²⁴ At its very first meeting, and in direct violation of the act of the synod, it took on trial Mr. John Rowland, a student of the Log College.²⁵ Despite the re-enactment by the synod of its stand requiring an examination of ministerial candidates privately tutored prior to their licensing by a presbytery,²⁶ the Presbytery of New Brunswick licensed John Rowland (September 7, 1738) and not long afterwards (October

¹⁹ Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 61.

²⁰ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 120.

²¹ Irwin, "Memoirs of the Presbyterian Church of Neshaminy," *ibid.*, II, 223; George Chambers, *A Tribute to the Principles, Virtues, Habits and Public Usefulness of the Irish and Scotch Early Settlers of Pennsylvania* (Chambersburg, 1871), 40; Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 28, 62.

²² *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 146; Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 118.

²³ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 145-46, 158-59; Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 57; Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 172.

²⁴ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 138.

²⁵ *Records of the New Brunswick Presbytery*, 1-2, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia; Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 67.

²⁶ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 146.

12, 1739) ordained him.²⁷ The synod refused to admit John Rowland to their membership, although they recognized the right of the presbyteries to ordain their own ministers.²⁸

It should be noted that, even prior to the adoption of the Lewes Overture, recommendation of a candidate for the ministry by the synod did not always result in his approval for ordination by the presbyteries. This was so in the case of Henricus Goetschius, a graduate of the college at Zurich.²⁹ Although the synod considered his "testimonials from Germany" as "ample and satisfactory" and recommended him to the Presbytery of Philadelphia,³⁰ the latter body, meeting the following day (May 28, 1737), "unanimously came to this Conclusion, That tho' he appeared well skilled in the Learned Languages yet inasmuch as they found him altogether ignorant in College Learning, and but poorly read in Divinity, his ordination to the Ministry must at present be deferred."³¹ It was not until he placed himself under the tutelage of a minister of the presbytery and continued his studies for four additional years that he was finally ordained on April 7, 1741.³²

What was under attack here, as well as in the Log College, was the inadequacy of the training in the arts and sciences. The curriculum was the battleground. Gilbert Tennent insisted that piety be the basic criterion for selection of ministers, and he hurled bitter polemics against the opponents of his father's school, labeling them as "Orthodox, Letter-learned . . . Pharisees." In the "Nottingham Sermon" delivered March 8, 1740, he maintained that private seminaries, in a period of nonexistent or "corrupted" public academies, offered the best training ground for the ministry.³³

Francis Alison and other members of the synod were skeptical of the motives of Gilbert Tennent and the adherents of the Log College. They questioned his professed desire for a "well-qualified Ministry," and intimated that he was more interested in promoting the welfare

²⁷ Records of the New Brunswick Presbytery, 3, 12-13, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

²⁸ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 147-48, 154.

²⁹ Edward T. Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America, 1628-1902* (New York, 1902), 490.

³⁰ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 133.

³¹ Records of the Philadelphia Presbytery, 1733-1784, pp. 42-43, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

³² Corwin, *Reformed Church*, 490.

³³ Gilbert Tennent, *The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry . . .* (Philadelphia, 1740), 4, 16.

of his father's school. In support of their charges, members of the synod pointed to specific examples of unqualified men admitted to the ministry. They cited "particularly Messrs. Alexander Craighead, Charles Tennent, and John Rowland," (the last two were graduates of the Log College) "who were remarkably deficient in some Parts of useful Learning."³⁴

Unable or unwilling to compose their differences, the opposing factions continued to heap recriminations upon each other, which resulted in the synod's declaring (June 1, 1741) the Tennents "to be the minor party, and upon this they withdrew. After this the synod proceeded to business."³⁵

Increasing infirmities and advanced age induced William Tennent to resign his ministry in 1742.³⁶ This year also marked the demise of the Log College.³⁷ There is no evidence to support Alexander's contention that the Log College continued until the establishment of the College of New Jersey in 1747.³⁸ On the contrary, existing evidence in the form of Tennent's resignation from the ministry; his offering of his plantation for sale in 1742; and the attendance of subsequent candidates for the ministry, from 1743 on, upon other schools such as that at Fagg's Manor would tend to confirm the year 1742 as the closing date of the Log College.³⁹

The Log College was many things to many men. To George Whitefield it was "an Academy . . . in contempt, called, *The College*. . . ."⁴⁰ To Alexander it was "a theological seminary, as well as a college."⁴¹ Irwin characterized it as an "Academy."⁴² Pears, paraphrasing Gilbert Tennent, declared "It was not a College, neither was it an Academy, but a private Seminary, in which the purpose was to train men for the Gospel ministry."⁴³ The available evidence would support the con-

³⁴ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 165; *An Examination and Refutation of Mr. Gilbert Tennent's Remarks upon the Protestation Presented to the Synod of Philadelphia, June 1, 1741* (Philadelphia, 1742), 13-14, 52-53.

³⁵ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 158-59.

³⁶ *Records of the New Brunswick Presbytery*, 26, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia; Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 29-30.

³⁷ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 122, 167.

³⁸ Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 294.

³⁹ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 122; Sprague, *Annals*, III, 155.

⁴⁰ Whitefield, *A Continuation*, 142-43.

⁴¹ Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 61, 125.

⁴² Irwin, "Memoirs of the Presbyterian Church of Neshaminy," *PHSJ*, II, 223.

⁴³ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *ibid.*, XXX, 166.

clusion that William Tennent's school was a private theological seminary that attempted in some measure to fulfill the role of a college but succeeded mainly in supplying an excellent Latin grammar school education in conjunction with its religious training.

There has been a good deal of speculation concerning the relation of the Log College to Princeton University. Alexander states that "the Log College was the germ from which proceeded the flourishing College of New Jersey."⁴⁴ Subscribing to the same thesis, Murphy advances six arguments which he considers as incontrovertible facts, and concludes that "Princeton was the Log College enlarged, advanced in its course of study and made to cover a wider field of usefulness."⁴⁵

On the other hand Pears maintains that "It is not accurate to say that it [the College of New Jersey] was a continuation of the 'Log College,' which had ceased to function three years before the first charter was applied for; neither was it initiated by 'Log College' men."⁴⁶ Of all the arguments advanced to show the connection between the Log College and Princeton, perhaps the most cogent and persuasive are the two which purport to show, first, that the death of the former institution was coincidental with the rise of the latter, and second, that the founders of Princeton were mainly Log College men with whom others, namely Jonathan Dickinson and Aaron Burr, "co-operated." With respect to the first argument, it has already been shown that the evidence points to 1742, rather than 1746 or 1747, as the date of the cessation of the Log College. Similarly, the contention that Log College men were the initiators of the movement to found Princeton is not consistent with the facts. Alexander, who was among the first to advance this idea, concedes that "Messrs. Dickinson and Burr [both graduates of Yale] . . . took the lead in this enterprise." Indeed, he supplies evidence of a primary nature in which he quotes Burr as stating that "if it had not been for the treatment received by Mr. Brainerd at Yale, New Jersey college would never have been erected."⁴⁷

2. THE NEW LONDON ACADEMY

Clearly dissatisfied with the instruction given at the Log College and perceiving that the rift between themselves and the Tennents was widening, the synod at its meeting of May 29, 1739, for the first

⁴⁴ Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 125.

⁴⁵ Murphy, *Presbytery*, 121-29.

⁴⁶ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 171.

⁴⁷ Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 125-27.

time unanimously approved a design "for erecting a school, or seminary of learning." A committee was appointed for that purpose, and it was intended that at least two members of that committee be sent to Europe "to prosecute this affair with proper directions."⁴⁸ The unfortunate outbreak of war between England and Spain, however, forced them to lay aside the plan for that time, and no further synodical efforts were made to found a school until 1743 when the synod once more makes reference to "a seminary or school for educating young men . . . among ourselves."⁴⁹

The initial steps in this direction were taken not by the synod but by a committee composed of the presbyteries of Philadelphia, New Castle, and Donegal at a meeting held at Great Valley, November 16, 1743.⁵⁰ The meeting decided upon a plan to be presented to the synod, but agreed in the meantime that a school be opened immediately under the direction of Francis Alison.⁵¹ That no time was lost in giving effect to their decision is evidenced by the fact that the following week the press carried an announcement of the school's having opened at the home of Mr. Alison.⁵²

At its meeting of May 25, 1744, the synod approved the committee's plan, decided to "take the said school under our care," and agreed upon a plan for carrying on its design. The school was to be "kept open where all persons who please may send their children and have them instructed gratis in the languages, philosophy, and divinity." Congregations under the care of the synod were to be approached for contributions in support of the school. Mr. Alison was chosen as master and granted the privilege of selecting his own usher. The former was to receive "twenty pounds per annum," and the latter "fifteen pounds." A board of trustees was appointed for the management of the school, to "inspect into the master's diligence in, and method of, teaching; consider and direct what authors are chiefly to be read in the several branches of learning; to examine the scholars . . . as to their proficiency, and apply the money procured from our people as ordered above . . . making report of their proceedings and the state of the school yearly."⁵³

⁴⁸ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 149.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 151, 171.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁵¹ Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 109; Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 168.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 116.

⁵³ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 175-76.

In view of the synod's objections to the educational fare offered by the Log College, the curriculum of its own institution, the New London School, merits particular attention. Fortunately, a firsthand account exists from the pen of one of its students, Matthew Wilson, who describes both the content of the course of instruction and the nature of the methodology employed by Alison. Wilson writes that not only did Alison's course include "a critical knowledge of the dead languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew . . . but also we were taught to write and speak correct English." Furthermore, the curriculum included "every part of the Belles Lettres, as the Pantheon or heathen mythology, rhetoric and figures, geography and maps, chronology and Grey's *Memoria Tribunica*, Kennet's Roman and Potter's Greek antiquities. . . ." In addition to these, Alison each morning critically examined the students' themes in English and Latin. Finally, Wilson continues:

When languages were accurately taught, we entered on a course of philosophy, instrumental, natural and moral, in all of which the Doctor contented not himself with giving only lectures; he also examined us daily, and obliged us to write abridgements for ourselves of the greatest utility. When we came to read *Juvenal*, our declamations began, which we wrote and delivered by memory. And after logic our syllogistic disputations.⁵⁴

This curriculum continued, in substantial measure, even after Alison relinquished the care of the school. The minutes of the synod for May 22, 1754, reveal that "Mr. Wilson is appointed to teach the languages, Mr. McDowell undertaking, from a sense of the public good, to continue to teach logic, mathematics, natural and moral philosophy. . . ."⁵⁵

There is some justification for Pears' claim that in the terminology of the day the course in the ancient languages corresponded to the curriculum of the grammar school and that the studies described as philosophy were those commonly pursued at college. There is less validity, however, in his conclusion that Alison's school "offered a well-rounded course in the liberal arts and sciences."⁵⁶ Certainly the synod was not convinced that the instruction in the New London Academy approximated a college course. In a letter to President Thomas Clap of Yale (May 30, 1746) the synod attempted to effect some kind of arrangement whereby its students at Alison's academy

⁵⁴ *Philadelphia Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, April 19, 1780, p. 2.

⁵⁵ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 212.

⁵⁶ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 171.

could complete their education at Yale. It described its repeated efforts to establish a college within its bounds. It spoke of William Tennent's school and the shortcomings of that institution; of the frustration of its further efforts to erect a college by the outbreak of war with Spain; of its decision to examine all non-college graduates prior to ordination by the presbyteries; of Mr. Gilbert Tennent's opposition to this decision and of the abetting of his "divisive practices" by Mr. Whitefield. In view of these circumstances, the letter continues, "the Synod erected a school in the year 1744 . . . where the languages, philosophy, and divinity should be taught gratis, to all that should comply with the regulation of the school. . . ." At the same time, the synod was compelled to "freely acknowledge our vast disadvantages, especially in natural philosophy," and because of this to forego asking for preferential treatment, declaring that their students "shall claim no precedency in your classes, nor the privilege of freshmen, but what are consistent with the good order of your college."⁵⁷

Apparently no satisfactory arrangement was consummated since the records fail to record a single instance of a student's being sent by the synod to complete his education at Yale College. The fortunes of the New London Academy began to decline with the departure of Francis Alison to take "Charge of the Latin School" of the Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia.⁵⁸ In 1755 the Philadelphia Synod appealed to the trustees of the German Charity Schools for financial aid and offered to remove the school to Chesnut Level. Their request was finally acceded to in 1757, and they were granted "twenty-five pounds currency for one year to assist the said Synod to support their said public school. . . ."⁵⁹ Eventually the school was transferred to Newark, Delaware, and developed into the University of Delaware.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 187-89.

⁵⁸ College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, Minutes of Trustees, I, December 28, 1751, Secretary's Office, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Alexander, *Biographical Sketches*, 116.

⁵⁹ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, 219, 226-28.

⁶⁰ Pears, "Colonial Education Among Presbyterians," *PHSJ*, XXX, 168.

CHAPTER III

Presbyterian Influence: Dickinson College

AS THE FIRST church-related, degree-granting institution established in Pennsylvania and the first post-Revolutionary college founded in the Commonwealth, Dickinson College set a pattern which subsequent ecclesiastically oriented colleges followed. Particularly was this so with respect to administration and control, to methods of financing, and to the nature of the curriculum organization. For this reason Dickinson College receives more extensive and detailed treatment as a basis for better understanding the history of those church-related institutions which later experienced birth.

I. ESTABLISHING THE COLLEGE

Impelled by the need for a college-trained clergy, the Presbyterians, as we have seen, made strenuous efforts to establish a college in Pennsylvania. Though unsuccessful in this State during the provincial period, they did erect the College of New Jersey in 1746. Following the War of Independence, when men's minds were freed of the burdens of military campaigns and the struggle for survival, attention once more could be turned in the direction of peaceful cultural pursuits. In this post-Revolutionary period Dickinson College was founded.

It is highly questionable whether the Presbyterians, either as an organized church or as individuals, had any intentions in the 1780's of establishing a college at Carlisle. Earlier (1773), a group of nine men had opened a grammar school on the site which was later to be occupied by the college.¹ In October, 1781, the overseers of the grammar school approached the Donegal Presbytery, offered to place the school under the care of the presbytery, to transform it into an academy, and to apply for a legal charter.² The academy never

¹ James H. Morgan, *Dickinson College: The History of One Hundred Fifty Years, 1783-1933* (Carlisle, 1933), 2, 6. About 1770 a public Latin school, under the direction of a group of trustees, had been operating in Carlisle. The grammar school of 1773 may have been a continuation of the older Latin school. See Mulhern, *Secondary Education*, 86-87.

² Records of the Donegal Presbytery, 1778-1786, IV, 366, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

materialized, but the educational fervor of the men who desired its establishment was exploited by one individual, Benjamin Rush, who almost singlehandedly turned it in the direction of building a college.³

Despite the coming of peace, the times were certainly not propitious for the inauguration of a new venture in higher education. "Indeed," declared Samuel Miller, "from the year 1784 to 1789, when the Constitution of the United States went into operation, so many were the difficulties of our confederated republics, and so gloomy their prospects, that many of the zealous advocates of Liberty and Independence began to be less sanguine in their hopes from the American revolution. . . ."⁴

Even without the complication of an unfavorable environment, the opposition to the establishment of a college at Carlisle would probably have been considerable.⁵ Few men of letters, including the clergy, could perceive with Rush either the wisdom or the practicability of such a move. Even his chief lieutenant in the matter, John Montgomery of Carlisle, was not too enthusiastic and required frequent reassurance by Rush.⁶ The two already existing institutions, the University of Pennsylvania and the College of New Jersey, were more than adequate to meet the instructional demands of the day. Indeed, their meager enrollments clearly indicated that there was little or no need for another institution, and their friends were not disposed to countenance new competition.⁷

Why then, in the face of such obstacles and such opposition, did Rush persist in his eventually successful efforts to establish Dickinson College? James Morgan claims that the efforts of the local community to establish an academy at Carlisle challenged Rush's imagination to develop a better system of education for Pennsylvania.⁸ Charles Stillé attributes the rise of Dickinson College to what he calls "the deplorable condition into which college education in this State had fallen after the Revolution."⁹ On the other hand, Miller maintains that Rush "indulged a strong animosity against the Rev. Dr. [John] Ewing, the 'Provost' of the University. . . . From this animosity, there is little

³ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 7.

⁴ Miller, *Nisbet*, 159.

⁵ Benjamin Rush to General Armstrong, March 19, 1783, Rush Correspondence, Library Company of Philadelphia; John Black and others to Rush, November 13, 1782, *ibid.* The Rush Correspondence in the Library Company will hereafter be cited as RCLC.

⁶ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 10.

⁷ Miller, *Nisbet*, 102, 123.

⁸ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 7.

⁹ Stillé, *Dickinson*, 326.

doubt, arose, at least in part, the plan of founding a new College at Carlisle."¹⁰ Rush's correspondence with his contemporaries affords abundant evidence in support of Miller's contention. In 1783 he wrote to John Montgomery: "I have charged him [Dr. Ewing] with being the author or propagator of a falsehood. He has as yet made no reply to my letter containing the charge."¹¹

Rush proceeded to write personal letters to influential Presbyterians.¹² In 1782 he distributed his "Hints for Establishing a College at Carlisle in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania." The institution was to be thoroughly Presbyterian. All its instructors were to be Presbyterian. The "Hints" argued that "Schools . . . are the true Nurseries of Power and Influence. . . . In the Present plenitude of [political] power of the Presbyterians let them Obtain a Charter for a College at Carlisle in Cumberland County." The advantages of this site, Rush maintained, are that "It will draw the Presbyterians to one common center of union. It will be nearly central to the State. . . . Education will be Cheaper in Carlisle. . . . The village of Carlisle is one of the most healthy spots in the State." He at first proposed to secure an endowment from the State,¹³ but he relinquished the idea temporarily when it was pointed out that other denominations would object to the endowment of such a college with public funds. He intimated that the endowment might be obtained after the charter had been granted.¹⁴

Rush set out to win over his most formidable opponents, General John Armstrong and the Reverend Dr. Robert Cooper, to the proposed college.¹⁵ To the former he wrote a letter in March, 1783, admitting the opposition of Armstrong's friends in Philadelphia to the college idea but at the same time pointing out its advantages. He characterized the University of Pennsylvania as an institution devoid of religion and proclaimed that "without religion, I believe, learning does real mischief to the morals and principles of mankind." He insisted that colleges were the training centers for divinity and that such schools were essential to the inculcation of the church creed. He appealed to

¹⁰ Miller, *Nisbet*, 102.

¹¹ Rush to John Montgomery, May 3, 1783, RCLC.

¹² Benjamin Rush, "Hints for Establishing a College at Carlisle in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania," September 3, 1782, RCLC, XLI, 1. For additional correspondence see Volumes XLI and XLII. See also Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 10. The document first cited will be cited hereafter as Rush, "Hints."

¹³ Rush, "Hints," RCLC.

¹⁴ John King and others to Rush, November 13, 1782, RCLC; Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 11.

¹⁵ King to Rush, January 9, 1783, RCLC; Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 11.

Armstrong's self-interest (Armstrong was a large landowner), by pointing out that a college would increase real estate values in Carlisle as the College of New Jersey had done for Princeton. He capped his arguments with the assertion that the success of the project was assured since men of influence in Philadelphia, like John Dickinson and William Bingham, were contributing financially to its support.¹⁶ Though Armstrong remained unconvinced, he ceased his active opposition. The presbytery was won over to the plan, and a petition for a charter to the General Assembly was submitted.¹⁷ By a slim margin, the Assembly passed an act on September 9, 1783, incorporating Dickinson College in the borough of Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.¹⁸

The charter begins by affirming the necessity for "the right education of the youth, who must succeed the aged in the important offices of society. . . ." It describes the purpose of the college as "the education of youth in the learned and foreign languages, the useful arts, sciences and literature. . . ." A board of trustees, not exceeding forty, are to manage the affairs of the college. They are declared to be "one body politic and corporate, with perpetual succession," and with the rights and privileges accruing to a corporation. A faculty is provided for, and empowered, with the consent and approbation of the trustees, to grant "such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences, to such pupils of the college, or others, who, by their proficiency in learning, or other meritorious distinction, they shall think entitled to them, as are usually granted and conferred in other colleges in Europe or America. . . ." Further, the charter provides that "Persons of every religious denomination among christians shall be capable of being elected trustees; nor shall any person, either as principal, professor, or pupil, be refused admittance for his conscientious persuasion in matters of religion. . . ." The constitution of the college as embodied in the charter could be altered in no other manner "than by an act of legislature of this state." Finally, the charter requires that the trustees, the principal, the faculty and their successors must take and subscribe an oath or affirmation of loyalty and allegiance to the Commonwealth and to its constitution.¹⁹

¹⁶ Rush to General Armstrong, March 19, 1783, RCLC.

¹⁷ Armstrong to Rush, April 15, 1783, RCLC; John Black to Rush, April 21, 1783, *ibid.*; John Montgomery to Rush, April 16, 1783, *ibid.*

¹⁸ John Bioren, *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 8 vols. (Philadelphia, 1803-1808), II, 413.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 413-18, *passim*

Less than a week elapsed after the granting of the charter when the trustees held their first meeting in Philadelphia at the home of John Dickinson. They organized themselves as a board of trustees and elected "his Excellency Jno. Dickinson Esqr." as the president of the board.²⁰

From their very first meeting the trustees were concerned with methods of raising funds for the infant college. They appointed a committee, of which Dr. Rush was a member, "to draw up a Commission & instruction in Europe," requesting "Not only contributions in Cash, but in such books & philosophical apparatus as will be necessary, and useful in a College."²¹ Relentlessly pursuing the quest for funds, the trustees at their first meeting held in Carlisle heard a report from the committee they had originally commissioned recommending that a special committee be appointed to solicit subscriptions in the city of Philadelphia, that each trustee exert himself in this matter in his own county, that a petition be drawn up addressed to the legislature of Pennsylvania requesting an endowment, and that the forthcoming meeting of the German Lutheran clergy be solicited for aid.²²

Much of this initial financial sowing fell on barren soil. The Assembly did not see fit to grant the request for an endowment. People in Europe were not inclined to be generous to the new college.²³ Although the Lutherans promised "assistance and support through contributions and recommendations,"²⁴ their promises failed to materialize despite the inducement offered them by the trustees to educate "Your sons . . . with ours," and to include "the learned men of your body . . . [as] part of our faculty of professors."²⁵

In addition to the problem of raising funds for the prospective college, the trustees were also faced with the question of choosing a faculty. Accordingly, at their first meeting at Carlisle they unanimously elected the Reverend Charles Nisbet of Montrose, Scotland, the first principal of Dickinson College, and James Ross, professor of the Latin and Greek languages.²⁶ The latter had already been engaged in the

²⁰ Minutes of Trustees, I, September 15, 1783, pp. 83, 85-86. These minutes are stored in the archives section of the Dickinson College Library.

²¹ *Ibid.*, September 19, 1783, pp. 91-95.

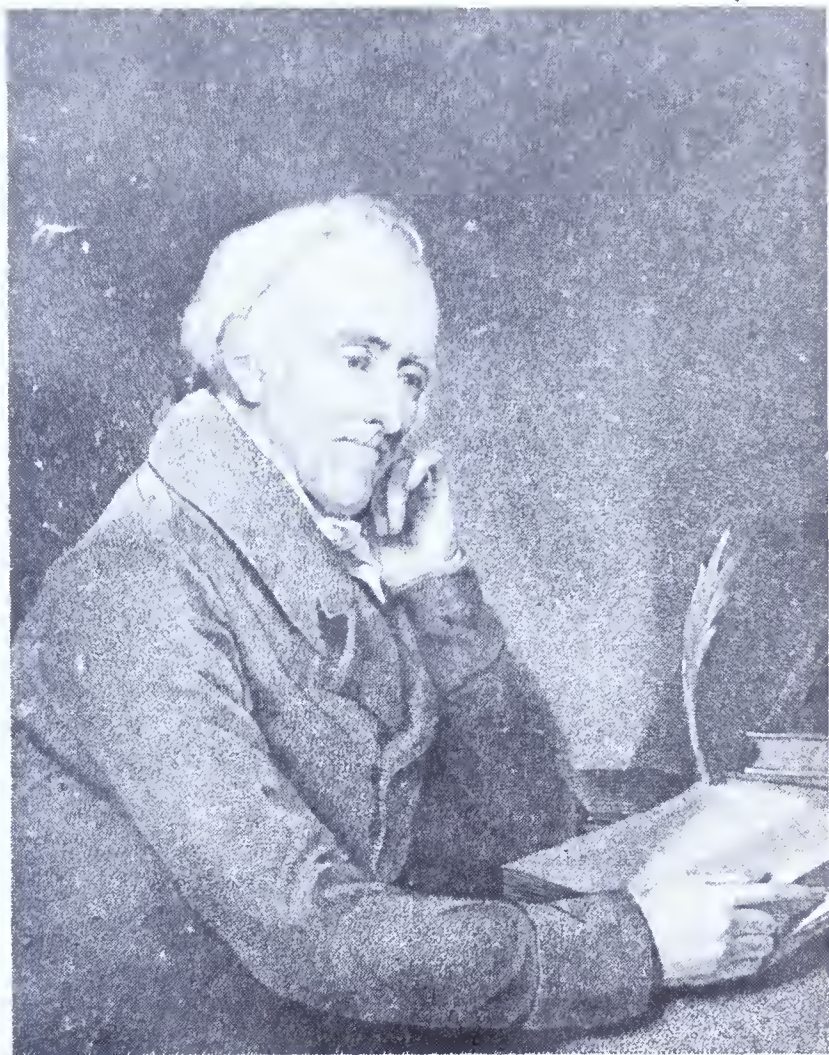
²² *Ibid.*, April 7, 1784, pp. 109-10.

²³ *Ibid.*, April 7, 1784, p. 112.

²⁴ *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States . . . 1748-1821* (Philadelphia, 1898), 195.

²⁵ Minutes of Trustees, I, April 8, 1784, pp. 118-19.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, April 8, 1784, 119-20.



BENJAMIN RUSH M.D.



The University at Lewisburg, now Bucknell University. Lithograph by P. S. Duval & Co., Philadelphia, 1810-1869.



Susquehanna
Collegiate
Institute,
1860's.



Allegheny College, 1870, showing Bentley Hall, built in 1820 and still in use; Ruter Hall, built in 1855 and still in use; and Culver Hall, dormitory for men, built in 1865 and destroyed by fire, 1882.

conduct of a grammar school at Carlisle, and the trustees at the same meeting appointed two of their number "to attend, as often as may be consistent with their other duties, the instruction & exercise [of] the scholars now learning the languages in the knowledge & pronunciation of the English tongue."²⁷

Here again, in the choice of a principal may be seen the firm and unswerving purpose of Benjamin Rush. He was determined that Charles Nisbet accept the proffered principalship and either ignored or minimized the difficulties which the projected plan was experiencing. In a letter of May 15, 1784, he reiterated his assurances made to Nisbet in previous correspondence "of the great opportunities of usefulness which were before you, and of the happiness you might enjoy in your new and elevated station."²⁸ Some two weeks later he again wrote him, allaying Nisbet's fears as to the precarious financial status of the college he was asked to head. He assured him that the legislature would endow the college with "five hundred pounds a year," and that at least "*ten thousand pounds*" would be forthcoming shortly from public and private contributions. "Indeed, sir," Rush insisted, "every finger of the hand of heaven has been visible in our behalf. Our enemies have not only become our friends; but have *contributed* largely to our design."²⁹

One of the "enemies," in the person of John Dickinson, was moved by conscience to warn Nisbet that the granting of the college charter was motivated largely by political considerations and that the situation was now such as to make him "apprehend that the law for establishing a College at Carlisle will be repealed, or at least, that the Design will be exceedingly discouraged and impeded. I therefore think myself bound in Honor . . . to request that you will not think of coming to America . . . until I can assure you that the prospects are much more favorable than it appears at present to be."³⁰ Rush was vituperative in his condemnation of Dickinson's act. He wrote to John Montgomery, characterizing Dickinson's letter as "big with ruin to our hopes" and an "act of treachery," and he characterized him as "the most formidable enemy to our College that ever we have yet known."³¹

Apparently, Rush's disapproval caused Dickinson to revise his pessimistic appraisal of the political scene and to inform Nisbet that

²⁷ *Ibid.*, April 8, 1784, 122-23.

²⁸ Quoted in Miller, *Nisbet*, 112.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 114-15.

³⁰ John Dickinson to Charles Nisbet, October 25, 1784, RCLC.

³¹ Rush to John Montgomery, November 13, 1784, RCLC.

there was little danger of charter abrogation and that entire confidence could be placed in the information that the trustees might transmit. Indeed, the trustees wrote such a letter to Nisbet (September 29, 1784) lamenting "that so good a Design as we are engaged in, should have Enemies in our own State, one of whom it seems, had tho't himself under obligation to give you an unfavorable & invidious account of our undertaking." They attempted to be frank in their appraisal of the infant college's prospects. They observed that there were difficulties, largely of a financial nature, but that these were not insuperable and that success would eventually crown their efforts.³²

Determined at all costs to win the scholarly Nisbet for Dickinson College, Rush was not adverse to making extravagant claims as to the prosperity and tranquility prevailing in the newly emancipated nation. Presumably carried away by an excess of zeal he wrote Nisbet a letter (November 28, 1784) in which he compared economic and social conditions in Britain with those in America.

The factions, riots, and executions in London, and the bankruptcies, clamours and distresses of every part of England and Scotland, afford a most striking contrast to the order, industry, and contentment which prevail in every part of this country. . . . Not a single instance has occurred of a soldier having broken the peace in any one of the states. All the crimes that have been committed since the war, have been by deserters from the British army, and emigrants from Britain and Ireland. And indeed even those have been comparatively few. The means of subsistence here are so easy, and the profits of honest labour so great, that rogues find it less difficult to live by work than by plunder.³³

The campaign was successful. The trustees were informed that Dr. Nisbet had arrived at Philadelphia on June 9, 1785, and immediately arranged to have him transported "to this place in a respectable Manner" at their expense.³⁴ He reached Carlisle on July 4, 1785, and on the following day the oath of office was administered to him.³⁵ Thus Charles Nisbet assumed the leadership of an infant institution, existing chiefly on paper, whose students were to be attracted, whose character was to be formed, and whose success was a matter of future determination.

³² Dickinson to Nisbet, November 15, 1784, copy by Rush, RCLC; Minutes of Trustees, I, September 30, 1784, pp. 132 ff.

³³ Quoted in Miller, *Nisbet*, 117-18.

³⁴ Minutes of Trustees, I, June 16, 1785, p. 141.

³⁵ James Duncan, "A Reminiscence of Doctor Charles Nisbet of Dickinson College," *PMHB*, V (1881), 103.

For more than a year prior to Nisbet's accession to the principalship, the trustees had been operating a grammar school.³⁶ To this school they had agreed to add a mathematical school, and Dr. Rush was one of a committee commissioned "to employ a Person capable thereof & allow him a Salary not exceeding £130 Currency Yearly."³⁷ From an examination of the accounts of James Ross and Robert Johnston, teachers of the grammar and mathematical schools respectively, there were thirty-five boys in the grammar school, June 15, 1785 (a total of forty-one having entered at various times beginning with September 30, 1784), and fourteen boys had enrolled in the mathematical school from October 25, 1784, to June 16, 1785.³⁸ Up to this time no mention is made of a "Philosophical School" or a "Philosophical Class," the prevailing eighteenth-century designations for college classes.

The institution of college classes, either of necessity or by design, awaited the arrival of Charles Nisbet. In the meantime, the trustees concerned themselves with essential preparatory measures. They appointed a committee, which included Dr. Rush, "to negotiate with the proper persons & purchase the public works erected near the Borough of Carlisle & the necessary lands adjacent for the use & accommodation of the College."³⁹ This, however, never materialized; and for more than twenty years the college was obliged to use the grammar-school building which contained but two rooms (only one of which was ready for use on Dr. Nisbet's arrival) until the West College was ready for occupancy in 1805.⁴⁰

In addition to seeking an adequate site for the college, the trustees appointed Mr. Ross "to the office of Librarian." They adopted a motion to "provide a Person capable of teaching to write & read the English Language with Propriety & Elegance to be employed in the college"; and they contemplated briefly, but without tangible result, the appointment of a German professor.⁴¹

2. ORGANIZING COLLEGE CLASSES

With the arrival of Nisbet the trustees devoted themselves to the task of organizing college classes. A committee, originally appointed

³⁶ Minutes of Trustees, I, April 8, 1784, pp. 122-25.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, September 28, 1784, p. 130; September 30, 1784, p. 137.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1785, pp. 141-42.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, April 7, 1784, p. 112.

⁴⁰ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 73; Minutes of Trustees, I, September 25, 1805, p. 326.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1785, p. 144.

in 1784 to "prepare a draught of rules for the Government of the College," was revived and augmented by additional members, including Mr. Muhlenberg, and instructed to bring in "a Plan of Education."⁴² The "Plan" proposed, "for the sake of communicating instruction more easily," that the youth be divided into four classes "viz: Senior, Junior—Sophomore & Freshman, and a Grammar School."⁴³ But scarcely three months after the adoption of the "Plan" and four months after the arrival of Nisbet, the trustees instructed the faculty to prepare the first students for graduation.⁴⁴ Had the faculty been able to comply with the request of the trustees the first graduates would have received their degrees after less than a year's attendance at college courses. As it was, nine men did receive the first Bachelor of Arts degrees conferred by the college at the commencement held September 27, 1787.⁴⁵

Graduation after one year's attendance was by no means an unusual phenomenon at Dickinson College. Nisbet in a letter to Rush, two months before the former's death, insisted that the decline of the college was brought about "by their [the Trustees] Act for annual Commencements, & restricting the time of Study to one year, which diminished the tuition money by two-thirds, & took away more than three-fourths from the Reputation of the Seminary which declined apace." He declared that "It was truly a Wonder that any Seminary could exist, after such Degradation [*sic*], for in the years, 1799, 1800, & 1801, there were yearling graduates & yearly Commencements."⁴⁶

It is clear, consequently, that the division of the college into four classes as envisioned by the "Plan" of 1785 failed of realization. In November, 1786, there is mention made of a "Philosophical Class" (the first time such mention is made in the minutes of the trustees), when the board requested the principal and Dr. Robert Davidson to prepare the students "for a Commencement against the second Wednesday in May [May 9, 1787] next." However, after consultation with Nisbet and Davidson it was determined "that the Senior Class cannot

⁴² *Ibid.*, August 9, 1785, p. 146. Dr. Rush was a member of the original committee appointed April 7, 1784, and the manuscript of the plan adopted by the trustees appears to be in his handwriting.

⁴³ Plan of Education for Dickinson College, adopted by the trustees, August 11, 1785, archives section, Dickinson College Library. Cited hereafter as Plan of Education.

⁴⁴ Minutes of Trustees, I, November 16, 1786, pp. 172-73.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, September 26-27, 1787, pp. 177-78.

⁴⁶ Nisbet to Rush, November 12, 1803, RCLC.

be prepared for a commencement in May next," and the examination was consequently postponed.⁴⁷ Morgan notes that in fact, "for ten years thereafter . . . there was no clear division of the students into classes."⁴⁸

In 1796 a new "Plan or System of Education" was adopted. Those students who were deemed capable of finishing the course of education in one year were to be formed into one class to be called "the First or Senior Class." Those who required two years were to be denominated the "Second—or Junior Class." And students who would take three years to complete the course were to be called the "Third or Freshman Class." All other students in the college were to belong to the grammar school. No student at his first entrance into college was to be admitted into a higher class than the junior.⁴⁹

This plan of organization, like the first, was largely a paper plan. Morgan states that either "it was not honestly formulated or was based on no fixed policy."⁵⁰ Indeed, six years after its formulation the trustees, in an advertisement dated December 3, 1802, declared that they were placing the college on a real collegiate footing and "that none should henceforth have the honours of the College conferred upon them, without having staid the necessary time." Two years were deemed to be "the necessary time"; for, as stated in the advertisement, "the first year . . . [shall] be denominated juniors, the last, seniors."⁵¹

It was only by virtue of an unproclaimed determination on the part of Nisbet that students entering in 1801 were required to spend two years at college before receiving their degrees.⁵² Neither the minutes of the trustees nor other records reveal how long the two-year course obtained or when the three-year course was instituted. However, the earliest existing catalogue—a single sheet containing a list of the professors and students—indicates that there were three classes in the college in 1811—senior, junior, and sophomore—and one other designation lumping the freshman class and grammar school together.⁵³ It was not until 1814 that the trustees decided to institute a freshman class.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Minutes of Trustees, I, November 16, 1786, pp. 172-73; April 10, 1787, p. 175.

⁴⁸ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 140.

⁴⁹ Minutes of Trustees, I, April 27, 1796, pp. 220-22.

⁵⁰ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 140.

⁵¹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, January 14, 1803.

⁵² Nisbet to Rush, November 12, 1803, RCLC.

⁵³ *Catalogue* (December, 1811). Early catalogues are in the archives section of the Dickinson College Library.

⁵⁴ Minutes of Trustees, II, March 29, 1814, p. 64.

3. CURRICULUM

Just as there was lack of definition with respect to the organization of the classes, so the curriculum of the early years of the college was vague, expressed in general terms, and not clearly separated into subjects and departments. This was evident in the first "Plan" of education adopted in 1785.⁵⁵ Nor is it certain that the course of study proposed in 1785 was carried out. Certainly Hebrew, French, German, chemistry, and "Divinity" were not a part of the early curriculum. An advertisement of the board of trustees (December 17, 1786) lists the professors and their departments of instruction as including Latin and Greek, mathematics, logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, natural philosophy, geography, history, chronology, rhetoric, and belles lettres.⁵⁶

Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney of the United States Supreme Court, a member of the class of 1795, recorded in his autobiography his experiences as a student at Dickinson College. He confirmed the content of the curriculum as contained in the advertisement of 1786 and described the methodology employed by the two senior professors, Dr. Nisbet and Dr. Davidson. Of the former, he said: "His mode of instruction was by lectures written out and read to the class slowly, so that we might write it down; yet it required a pretty good penman and fixed attention to keep up with him. . . ." Taney was highly critical of Dr. Davidson's teaching methods. He ridiculed a "rhyming geography" which Davidson had written and required as a class text.

This little book we were all required to buy, and to commit to memory, and repeat to him in lessons. It filled our minds with names of places and general descriptions, without giving us any definite idea of their position on the globe, or their relation to one another; and, as may well be supposed, some of the lines and rhymes were harsh and uncouth enough to be

⁵⁵ The curriculum was to include the following: Languages, consisting of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and German; mathematics; geography; natural philosophy, including chemistry (chemistry is crossed out in the manuscript); logic, that is, "metaphysicks"; moral philosophy, including "government & the law of nature & nations"; history and chronology, ancient and modern, civil and ecclesiastical; mythology; "Antiquities—of Egypt—Greece—& Rome"; philology, "Rhetoric—Criticism—&c."; divinity. "For the sake of improving the youth in composition & public speaking, the faculty shall oblige them frequently to exhibit exercises in both ways at such times—in such languages—& in such manner as they shall think proper." Plan of Education, August 11, 1785.

⁵⁶ *The Columbian Magazine, or Monthly Miscellany*, I, No. 6 (February, 1787). Printed on the inside front cover.

the subject of ridicule. . . . And what rendered the whole thing more absurd in the eyes of the students, he had composed what he called an acrostic upon his own name, by way of introduction, and this he required us to commit to memory, and to repeat to him with the rest of the book . . . nothing, I think, impaired the respect of the class for Dr. Davidson more than his acrostic. . . . It was so often and habitually repeated among us in derision that, although I have not thought of it for forty or fifty years, yet, in recalling the scenes of my college life, I find I can still repeat all of it but the last four lines.⁵⁷

Taney concluded his observations of the curriculum by stating: "There was no teacher of French or any other modern language, nor was there any teacher of the English grammar. We were expected to make ourselves masters of it by the study in the Greek and Latin, and reading the best authors in the English language."⁵⁸

The earliest recorded attempt at a graded course of instruction was that contained in the "Plan or System of Education" adopted by the trustees in 1796. In this "Plan" provision was made for a grammar school and three college classes.⁵⁹ However, as previously stated, the three-year graded curriculum did not progress beyond the pen-and-ink stage. Students were graduated and awarded degrees after but one year's attendance in the years 1799, 1800, and 1801; and the trustees advertised the college course as being two years in duration in 1802.⁶⁰ Though the faculty was instructed by the board in 1814 to initiate a freshman class,⁶¹ the records contain no provision for a course of study for this class. In any event the experiment must have been short-lived; for the college was forced to cease operations in 1816 and did not again open its doors to students until December, 1821.⁶²

Shortly after the reopening of the college the trustees enacted new statutes for the conduct of the institution including a four-year course of study, each year being divided into two terms.⁶³ This represented the college's first graded four-year curriculum; and it remained virtually unchanged until the college again closed its doors in 1832.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Roger B. Taney, "Autobiography," Samuel Tyler, *Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney, LL.D.* (Baltimore, 1872), 39-43.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁵⁹ Minutes of Trustees, I, April 27, 1796, pp. 220-22.

⁶⁰ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, January 14, 1803.

⁶¹ Minutes of Trustees, II, March 29, 1814, p. 64.

⁶² *Ibid.*, September 27, 1816, pp. 100-101; October 10, 1821, p. 137.

⁶³ *Statutes of Dickinson College* (Carlisle, 1822), 8-11.

⁶⁴ Minutes of Trustees, III, February 18, 1832, pp. 127-28.

4. INSTRUCTIONAL AIDS

Buildings, libraries, and scientific and other apparatus are necessary facilities for the successful prosecution of a college curriculum. The initial attempts of the trustees to secure an adequate site and building for the new college have been noted briefly.⁶⁵ Having failed to obtain the public works either by purchase or lease in 1785, the question of a college building was allowed to lie dormant for a period of seven years. In 1792 the question was again raised and it was "resolved that the Trustees residing in Philadelphia be & they are hereby empowered to apply to the Messrs. Penns for the grant of a suitable spot of Ground to erect a College on."⁶⁶ Unfortunately, their plans based upon the anticipated liberality of the Penns did not materialize, and the idea of a college building lay fallow for another six years.

In 1798 the board "Resolved that Subscriptions be opened for the purpose of erecting a suitable building for a College."⁶⁷ The committee appointed to superintend the building of the college reported "that Subscriptions had been attained for this purpose to a considerable amount in Carlisle and its vicinity . . . and that they had made choice of a 'Site' for the College at the West end of the Town."⁶⁸ The "new & Elegant Building lately erected" had scarcely been occupied by the students when it was destroyed by fire on March 14, 1803. Disappointed but undaunted, the trustees on the very day of the fire adopted "immediate measures for its rebuilding."⁶⁹ Two years later the structure was completed, and the trustees ordered the removal of "the library and philosophical apparatus to the new building."⁷⁰ Thus, twenty years after the convening of the first college classes the institution had a building of its own.

Dickinson College began life with a gift from John Dickinson of a library estimated variously at between 500 and 1,500 books.⁷¹ The books were those saved from the Norris library at Fairhill, burned by the British army in 1777.⁷² In estimating the worth of the Dickinson gift, Stillé speculates that if "the training and knowledge of political

⁶⁵ *Supra*, 51.

⁶⁶ Minutes of Trustees, I, December 18, 1792, pp. 200-201.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, September 26, 1798, p. 258.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, April 9, 1799, p. 259.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1803, pp. 298a-298b.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, September 25, 1805, p. 326.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, September 30, 1784, pp. 135-36; Stillé, *Dickinson*, 327; Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 409.

⁷² Stillé, *Dickinson*, 327; Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 409.

principles which distinguished" Dickinson and the Norris family can be ascribed to the immense knowledge contained in these volumes then the gift was indeed priceless.⁷³ How accurate his speculations were will be determined presently.

Evidently, considerable accessions were made to the library in a comparatively short time since the trustees in 1786 were able to report that "The library already consists of two thousand seven hundred and six volumes, in the Hebrew, Latin, English, French, German, Low Dutch and Italian languages, the donations of gentlemen in England, Scotland, and Philadelphia."⁷⁴ Nevertheless, few additions were made to the library by purchases prior to 1803. Up to that time the minutes of the trustees record but one recommendation for an annual appropriation of sixty dollars "for the purchase of Books" and "Philosophical Apparatus," and a resolution requiring "that every Student shall annually pay one Dollar to be appropriated for the purchase of Books, for the use of the Library."⁷⁵

Rules were established for the use of the library in 1785, and Professor Ross was appointed to the office of librarian. These rules, however, were unsatisfactory to the professors from two points of view. First, they were prohibited, along with the students, from keeping a book longer than two weeks. Second, in common with all others, they were required to pay one shilling quarterly for library privileges.⁷⁶ A year later, a few of these undesirable impediments were eliminated when the trustees resolved to allow the professors unlimited access to the library and to retain borrowed books for a period of at least six weeks.⁷⁷ The students, on the other hand, fared less well. In addition to the restrictions already imposed upon them, their use of the library was confined to the period "from Three till Five o'clock on every Saturday afternoon," when the librarian attended the library "for the purpose of giving out Books to the Students."⁷⁸

Despite Stillé's estimate of it, the library, according to Morgan, was "of little service to the college students at any time." Books were never properly classified, and they were of such a nature that they would not have been read under any circumstances. Even in the closing years of the nineteenth century, Morgan declares, the library was

⁷³ Stillé, *Dickinson*, 327.

⁷⁴ *Columbian Magazine*, VI, No. 1 (February, 1787).

⁷⁵ Minutes of Trustees, I, June 21, 1797, pp. 231, 236-37.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1785, pp. 139-40.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, May 10, 1786, p. 169.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, June 21, 1797, pp. 236-37.

virtually dead. During this period a student of the college acted as librarian, "and spent one solitary hour each week in the Library. It was solitary in two ways, for he was seldom disturbed by any troublesome or inquiring visitor."⁷⁹ That some of the students were aware of the deficiencies of the library is evidenced by the resolution of their Belles Lettres Society in 1791 to establish separate facilities, since "the Library of Dickinson College is but indifferently supplied with books."⁸⁰

Though it had a library of questionable value to students, the college had no "philosophical apparatus" at all when it opened its doors for instruction.⁸¹ It was not until a year after Dr. Nisbet's arrival that the board adopted a resolution thanking Dr. Rush "for his attention to the Interests of this Institution in procuring the Philosophical Apparatus."⁸² Despite these additions, the apparatus was quite meager for instruction of college caliber even in this nascent period of higher education. It contained "a complete electrical machine, a camera obscura of a new construction, a prism, a telescope, a solar microscope, a barometer and thermometer upon one scale, and a large and elegant set of globes."⁸³

With one possible exception the philosophical apparatus remained unchanged in the eighteenth century. In 1797 the board adopted a recommendation of its committee "on the general state of the college" proposing "that the sum of Sixty Dollars be appropriated yearly for the purchase of Books to be added to the Library & for the Improvement of the Philosophical apparatus."⁸⁴ Subsequent minutes make no mention of any new acquisitions of apparatus or of any further attempts to implement this recommendation.

Additions to the facilities necessary for scientific study were made possible by an act of the legislature (1806) which authorized a loan "to the trustees of Dickinson College" in the amount of "four thousand dollars, free of interest for five years . . . to be applied to the purchase of suitable books and philosophical apparatus. . . ."⁸⁵ As a consequence of this legislation the board empowered a committee to

⁷⁹ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 410-11.

⁸⁰ Minutes of Belles Lettres Society, November 7, 1791. These are housed in archives section of the Dickinson College Library.

⁸¹ Minutes of Trustees, I, September 30, 1784, p. 135.

⁸² *Ibid.*, November 16, 1786, p. 174.

⁸³ *Columbian Magazine*, VI, No. 1 (February, 1787).

⁸⁴ Minutes of Trustees, I, June 21, 1797, p. 231.

⁸⁵ Act of February 24, 1806, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1805-1806*, p. 377.

expend \$1,500 "to compleat the Philosophical Apparatus &c. & to purchase Books."⁸⁶ Further additions were authorized in 1810, and Dr. Rush was requested to import \$1,250 worth of equipment from London.⁸⁷

The year 1810 marks the beginning in Dickinson College of the study of the sciences as a separate department with its own professor. Prior to that time, natural philosophy was either divided between two professors, Nisbet and Davidson, or added to the duties of the professor of mathematics.⁸⁸ In view of the recent additions to the scientific equipment, the trustees evidently felt it expedient to appoint a "Professor of Natural Philosophy & Chemistry."⁸⁹ Originally offered to a Dr. Aigster, who served but a year,⁹⁰ the post was finally filled by Thomas Cooper as "Professor of Chimistry and Mineralogy."⁹¹ With Cooper's incumbency separate classes in chemistry were instituted. The trustees directed "That the Senior and Junior classes . . . attend the Professor of Chimistry on Mondays, Wednesdays & Fridays at 11 o'clock in the forenoon." Others were permitted "to attend the Lectures on payment of 10 Dollars for the Session."⁹²

From this time on additions to the philosophical apparatus were made as occasion demanded even when the board had to borrow the money to pay for the equipment. In 1811 the trustees resolved to "accept on the terms proposed by Mr. [Joseph] Priestly—a three feet reflecting Telescope—5 inch reflector—mounted in the best manner—\$220—a Lens \$250—an air Gun \$60—& that the amt. be paid out of the apparatus fund—and that Mr. Cooper be requested to inform Mr. Priestly of this Resolution. . . ."⁹³ In 1822 a committee of the trustees was selected to consult with a Mr. Vethake, professor of chemistry and natural philosophy, "as to the most Suitable room for a Laboratory and the Furnaces and other fixtures necessary to be therein erected."⁹⁴ In the same year a sum of \$500 was voted "for the purpose of purchasing Chemical & Philosophical apparatus," \$300 "for procuring & purchase

⁸⁶ Minutes of Trustees, I, September 29, 1803, p. 351.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II, May 17, 1810, p. 8.

⁸⁸ *Columbian Magazine*, VI, No. 1 (February, 1787); *Pittsburgh Gazette*, January 14, 1803.

⁸⁹ Minutes of Trustees, II, July 19, 1810, p. 9; James Hamilton to Rush, July 21, 1810, RCLC.

⁹⁰ Minutes of Trustees, II, September 10, 1810, pp. 9-10.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, June 17, 1811, p. 24.

⁹² *Ibid.*, August 10, 1811, p. 27.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, December 17, 1811, p. 33.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1822, pp. 173-74.

[of] a mineralogical collection," and \$200 to increase the college library; and a committee was appointed "to negotiate a Loan of \$1000 to embrace the objects of the foregoing Resolutions and that they be authorized to pledge the College property as security for said Loan."⁹⁵ As a consequence of this approach to scientific studies, the Methodists, who assumed control of the college in 1833, were able to record an inventory of scientific equipment and chemical elements of close to one hundred items.⁹⁶

5. FINANCES

For the first forty-nine years of its life Dickinson College labored under a twofold handicap. It was continually beset by financial impoverishment; and it suffered from what Morgan labels as "Unfortunate Trustee Interference."⁹⁷

Reference has been made to the trustees' initial preoccupation with securing adequate funds for the infant college and the indifferent success that crowned their efforts. Rush, in his early letters to Nisbet, predicted an endowment fund of "*ten thousand pounds* in the course of a year or two, from public and private donations."⁹⁸ For the first fifty years this figure was never realized although a peak was reached of £7,600 or \$20,211.29. Small as these funds may appear in light of present-day endowment structures, Rush stated that "There are few colleges in America that can boast so large a foundation for a productive and permanent income."⁹⁹

According to a report of a committee of trustees the college began life in 1784 possessed of "£275 15 0 in Cash, £1381 17 6 in Certificates, £1200 00 0 in Land, and that so much of this is immediately productive as will raise about 130£ per annum."¹⁰⁰ Against this initial reserve there were permanent expenditures in the form of professors' salaries alone that amounted to almost £900 per year.¹⁰¹ Income from tuition, on the other hand, was exceedingly meager. A report of a committee of trustees appointed to examine the accounts of Mr. Ross and Mr. Johnston revealed that in the period from September 30, 1784, to June 15, 1785, £95 was received from "Tuition

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, August 31, 1822, p. 179.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, June 6, 1833, p. 147; September 25, 1833, pp. 171-73.

⁹⁷ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 131-32.

⁹⁸ Miller, *Nisbet*, 115.

⁹⁹ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 118.

¹⁰⁰ Minutes of Trustees, I, April 7, 1784, pp. 108-109.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, April 8, 1784, pp. 120-21; September 30, 1784, p. 137; June 15, 1785, p. 140; August 11, 1785, p. 152.

& Entrance" of forty-five students in the "Grammar School," and £29.2.8 for the same period from fourteen boys in the "Mathematical School."¹⁰² With the initiation of college classes in 1785, the entrance fee was fixed at twenty-five shillings, tuition at five pounds per annum, the graduation fee at "one dollar to each professor for signing his diploma," and the library fee at one dollar.¹⁰³ The tuition remained the same in 1786 and continued stationary for ten years thereafter until 1796 when it was increased to six pounds per year.¹⁰⁴ A further rise to twenty dollars per year was decreed by the trustees in 1798,¹⁰⁵ and this rate remained in force until 1810. In that year the entrance fee was set at five dollars and the tuition at thirty-five dollars per annum.¹⁰⁶ Observing "from Experience that the experiments in the chemical lectures are expensive and amount yearly to a considerable sum," the trustees decided (1814) to raise the annual tuition to forty-five dollars and to charge "all students who attend the chemical lectures" an additional fifteen dollars per year.¹⁰⁷ This was the highest rate charged by the college while under Presbyterian control.

Although the records make infrequent mention of student enrollment, the figures that are supplied from time to time indicate that the numbers were too few and the tuition charges too modest for the college to exist without other sources of income. In a letter to John Montgomery in 1788, Rush describes the country generally as politically disturbed and financially depressed and asserts that colleges, schools, and churches all reflect this state of affairs. He cautions against being "discouraged by the present low state of our funds and the declining number of our pupils."¹⁰⁸ His optimism, however, was not justified, for enrollment continued small. The trustees found in 1801 "that the productive Funds are altogether inadequate, from the great decrease in the number of Students."¹⁰⁹ Seven years later the faculty reported a total of fifty in "the College & Latin School taken together."¹¹⁰ The following year they reported an enrollment of forty-two including the fifteen members of the senior class recommended for

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, June 16, 1785, pp. 141-42.

¹⁰³ Plan of Education, August 11, 1785.

¹⁰⁴ *Columbian Magazine*, VI, No. 1 (February, 1787); Minutes of Trustees, I, September 28, 1796, p. 225.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, April 30, 1798, p. 245.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, II, October 8, 1810, p. 14.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, September 30, 1814, p. 72.

¹⁰⁸ Rush to John Montgomery, April 9, 1788, RCLC.

¹⁰⁹ Minutes of Trustees, I, November 19, 1801, p. 286.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, September 28, 1808, p. 349.

the degree.¹¹¹ Morgan states that during Nisbet's regime enrollment fluctuated between forty and seventy.¹¹² However, nothing was found in the records that would justify so generous an estimate. Probably the upper limit was closer to fifty.

An indication of the early financial plight of the institution is contained in the attempted payment of teachers in 1788 by orders on those who owed the college money on subscription or for tuition.¹¹² This condition obtained throughout the early life of the college. Upon receipt of £1,500 (\$4,000) from the State legislature in 1791 the trustees resolved to pay "£450 to the Principal, £140 to Professor Davidson, £100 to Professor Ross, £100 to Mr. McCormick the Teacher of the Mathematics on Account of the arrears of their Salaries."¹¹³

Continued dissipation of its funds had reduced the financial condition of the institution to such a dire state that a committee of the trustees was compelled to report (1797) that it "dreads an early dissolution of the Institution from the pressure of its debts & the great inadequacy of the Funds for the support of the same."¹¹⁴

Finding that "the productive Funds are altogether inadequate, from the great decrease in the number of Students, to the allowance of the Present Salaries to the Principal & Professors," the trustees decided, beginning with the first day of January, 1802, to reduce the salary of the principal from \$1,200 to \$800, and the salary of Dr. Davidson to \$160 per annum. They further resolved, "That instead of the Salaries now paid to the Professors of Languages & Mathematicks the whole Proceeds of the Entrance & Tuition monies arising & accruing during the year 1802 . . . shall be allowed to them for & during the said year. . . ."¹¹⁵

Evidently, reducing the salaries of the professors did not solve the problem. On the contrary, each succeeding year witnessed an increase in the debt owed the faculty by the college. So straitened had Nisbet's circumstances become that he was forced to institute a civil suit "that the Matters in Dispute betwixt the Trustees & me may be settled in the fairest & quietest Manner."¹¹⁶ Morgan states that Nisbet's estate finally consisted of what was owed him by the college and the Presby-

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, September 27, 1809, p. 1.

¹¹² Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 118.

¹¹³ Bioren, *Laws*, IV, 71 (Act of September 20, 1791); Minutes of Trustees, I, November 2, 1791, p. 196.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 21, 1797, pp. 229-30.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, November 19, 1801, pp. 286-87.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, September 29, 1803, p. 311; Nisbet to Rush, November 12, 1803, RCLC.

terian church—\$6,700 from the former and \$1,200 from the latter. The payment of these and other debts wiped out the original endowment, and nothing remained when the college closed in 1816.¹¹⁷

Rush's original plans for the college had envisioned a large endowment contributed by the State. At their first meeting in Carlisle the trustees commissioned Rush to prepare a petition to the General Assembly requesting an endowment for the college.¹¹⁸ This petition was successful, and the legislature granted the college £500 and 10,000 acres of the unappropriated lands of the State.¹¹⁹

From this time on the trustees made regular and frequent appeals for State aid. In response to one of their requests, the legislature in 1789 authorized a lottery for the benefit of the college and the city of Philadelphia, from which the former was to realize \$2,000 and the latter, \$8,000.¹²⁰ How much the college received from the lottery is not known. That it derived some benefit is evidenced by the fact that portions of the professors' salaries were paid from the proceeds.¹²¹ However, the aid proved insufficient; for the following year the trustees again appointed a committee "to draw up a Petition to the General Assembly of the State . . . requesting some further Assistance in carrying on the Ends and Designs of the Institution."¹²² Again the legislature responded with a grant of £1,500.¹²³

Although the State's contributions may not have been all that the trustees desired,¹²⁴ it is clear that the institution could not have continued to function as long as it did without periodic assistance from the legislature. From 1795 to 1814 the General Assembly passed a series of acts granting loans and making appropriations to the college.¹²⁵ By an act of 1819 the loans were converted into outright gifts

¹¹⁷ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 119, 123.

¹¹⁸ Minutes of Trustees, I, April 7, 1784, p. 110.

¹¹⁹ Bioren, *Laws*, III, 155 (Act of April 7, 1786); Minutes of Trustees, I, May 9, 1786, p. 161.

¹²⁰ Pennsylvania, *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, compiled by James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, 17 vols. [II-XVIII] (Harrisburg, 1896-1915), XIII, 276 (Act of March 27, 1789); Asa E. Martin, "Lotteries in Pennsylvania Prior to 1833," *PMHB*, XLVIII (1924), 77.

¹²¹ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 127-28.

¹²² Minutes of Trustees, I, September 29, 1790, p. 195.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, November 2, 1791, p. 196; Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 123 (Act of September 20, 1791).

¹²⁴ Minutes of Trustees, II, May 10, 1821, pp. 124-25.

¹²⁵ Bioren, *Laws*, V, 78 (Act of April 11, 1795); VII, 85 (Act of March 24, 1803); Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1804-1806*, p. 377 (Act of February 24, 1806); *ibid.*, 1812-1813, p. 234 (Act of March 29, 1813); *ibid.*, 1813-1814, p. 246 (Act of March 28, 1814).

through the cancellation of the mortgage held by the State on the lands of the college and by cancelling and discharging all debts owed to the Commonwealth by the trustees.¹²⁶

Having closed its doors in 1816 largely because of financial difficulties, the college was enabled to resume functioning as an institution of higher education chiefly because of a grant of the legislature in 1821. The State purchased for \$6,000 the 10,000 acres of land originally given the college and in addition awarded it \$2,000 annually for five years.¹²⁷ Upon the expiration of this subsidy, the legislature again came to the rescue of the institution by granting it \$3,000 annually for seven years.¹²⁸

Despite these periodic gratuities from the State, Morgan notes that the invested funds of the college had disappeared by the time the institution closed in 1816; and after the "second closing in 1832, the old Treasurer turned over to the new one \$69 in cash and . . . bank stock" already pledged for loans of almost equal value from the bank. Morgan maintains that "There was never any worthwhile grant from the state which took the form of permanent endowment."¹²⁹ Writing in 1833, Walter Johnson, on the other hand, stated that Dickinson College was one of the "large recipients" of the State's bounty and that it enjoyed the distinction of having "the greatest number of laws passed in regard to any one institution. . . ."¹³⁰

Regardless of the reasons for the financial failures it is clear that the trustees were not able to muster sufficient private support to maintain a solvent institution. Their minutes make infrequent mention of contributions from individuals or groups. In one of their many appeals for help to the legislature, the trustees submitted a budget for February, 1792, listing the expenditures and the income. Professors' salaries and "contingent expenses" amounted to £1,016, while only two sources of income were listed—annual interest of £200 "from

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1818-1819, p. 152 (Act of March 23, 1819).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1820-1821, p. 47 (Act of February 20, 1821).

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1825-1826, p. 27 (Act of February 13, 1826). It may be noted in passing that a month later the State was less liberal in its treatment of two other Pennsylvania colleges. Washington College at Washington, Pennsylvania, and Jefferson College at Canonsburg were each awarded but \$1,000 a year for four years. *Ibid.*, 109 (Act of March 11, 1826).

¹²⁹ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 123, 125-26.

¹³⁰ Walter R. Johnson, "Education in Pennsylvania and New York," *Hazard's Register*, XI, 49-50.

the U.S." and anticipated tuition income of £300, leaving an annual deficit of £516.¹³¹

6. FACULTY-TRUSTEE RELATIONS

Other difficulties besides financial ones marred the prosperity of the college for the first fifty years of its existence. Perhaps the most significant of these was the rigid control exercised by the trustees over all aspects of college life. Whether the pattern for such control was set initially by the provisions of the charter is difficult to determine. It is true, however, that the charter did place what would now be considered undue restrictions on the powers of the faculty. Section V, paragraph 8, empowered the faculty to enforce "the rules and regulations adopted by the trustees" and to discipline students by censuring and suspending them only until such time as a "determination of a quorum of trustees can be had. . . ." ¹³²

There were relatively few details of college life considered too small to warrant the attention of the trustees. They appointed committees to visit the school and to hear the students in their exercises.¹³³ Without consultation with the faculty, they established rules for discipline, and even decreed the kind of dress to be worn by the faculty "upon all public occasions."¹³⁴ The principal was told how often he was to attend the various classes, and the faculty was ordered to hold a stated meeting "at least once in Six weeks."¹³⁵ Even the number of examinations to be given the students was set by the trustees.¹³⁶ On occasion the trustees did not hesitate to override the faculty in matters of discipline.¹³⁷

Faculty resentment against trustee interference appeared early in the life of the college. Nisbet was particularly incensed at the attitude of the trustees toward the faculty. He charged them with regarding the teachers as mere hired hands. He resigned the principalship in October, 1785,¹³⁸ and in December of the same year wrote a letter to

¹³¹ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 128-29.

¹³² Bioren, *Laws*, II, 417 (Act of September 9, 1783).

¹³³ Minutes of Trustees, I, September 30, 1784, p. 138; June 15, 1785, p. 140.

¹³⁴ Plan of Education, August 11, 1785; Minutes of Trustees, I, June 3, 1789, p. 189.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, November 2, 1791, p. 197.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, November 30, 1802, pp. 298-99.

¹³⁷ Minutes of Faculty, August 27, 1827, p. 34. These minutes are in the archives section of the Dickinson College Library.

¹³⁸ Minutes of Trustees, I, October 18, 1785, pp. 153-55. The reason given was poor health. Nisbet was again unanimously elected principal, May 10, 1786. *Ibid.*, I, 164.

the Earl of Buchan in which he severely criticized the state of higher education in America. He declared that "The power of the Trustees is absolute, and without appeal" and that they paid "not the smallest attention" to his suggestions.¹³⁹ The passing of the years apparently brought with them no improvement in the relationships between Nisbet and the trustees. He mistrusted them and feared the consequences of a public revelation of his attitude toward them.¹⁴⁰

Methodology and the determination of the content of any course of study are two areas of the instructional process generally considered by teachers to be their special province, and not subject to the whims or dictates of the untrained laymen. The strained relations between the trustees and the faculty were by no means improved with the invasion of these fields by the former. It had been Nisbet's practice, subsequently adopted by Davidson and others, to have the students copy his lectures verbatim as he dictated them.¹⁴¹ Because of complaints registered by certain students, the trustees sought to induce the faculty "to lighten as much as possible the labor of writing on the part of the students."¹⁴² Four years later, in a unanimously adopted resolution, they specified the content of a series of lectures on government that they directed be given by the professor of history and belles lettres.¹⁴³

The resignation of the entire faculty in 1815,¹⁴⁴ the closing of the college in the following year, and the frequent changes in professorial personnel after its reopening in 1821 had little effect in changing the strained relationships between faculty and trustees. Mention has already been made of the resentment expressed by the faculty in 1827 when their disciplinary action against two students was rescinded by the trustees. Consequently, it probably occasioned little surprise the following year that the faculty should have attempted to disassociate themselves from the trustees during an investigation of the affairs of the college by a committee of the Senate of Pennsylvania.¹⁴⁵

A belated attempt was made by the trustees to establish closer relationships with the faculty and to give them a larger voice in the affairs

¹³⁹ Quoted in Miller, *Nisbet*, 139-42.

¹⁴⁰ Charles Nisbet to Alexander Addison, May 11, 1792, Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.

¹⁴¹ *Supra*, 54.

¹⁴² Minutes of Trustees, I, April 17, 1794, pp. 204-205.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1798, pp. 250-51.

¹⁴⁴ Morgan, *Dickinson College*, 144.

¹⁴⁵ Minutes of Faculty, January 18, 1828, p. 58.

of the college by an amendment to the charter. The proposed charter change would make the principal of the college a member of the board, *ex officio*, and would vest in the faculty the "power to inflict all punishments, which may be prescribed by the Statutes of the College, provided, that in cases of expulsion, there may be an appeal to the Board of Trustees on the application of the Parent or Guardian of the student expelled."¹⁴⁶

However, the rupture between the two bodies was too serious to be repaired by such a measure. In 1832 an open schism had developed between the faculty and members of the board of trustees. Finding it impossible to reconcile their differences, they agreed to suspend the exercises of the college.¹⁴⁷ The following year the institution passed into the hands of the Methodists.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Minutes of Trustees, III, March 7, 1831, p. 109.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, February 18, 1832, pp. 127-28.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, April 19, 1833, pp. 139-40; June 6, 1833, p. 147. Aspects of the subsequent history of Dickinson College, and of other colleges and universities as well, will be dealt with in Parts II, III, and IV of this book. In the main, the policy has been adopted to treat in Part I of the life of the institutions up to the point where they adopt four-year college curriculums and confer their first Bachelor of Arts degrees or to the point where their control has been assumed by other religious denominations.

CHAPTER IV

Later Presbyterian Developments

CONCOMITANT with their growth in numbers and their settlement of the more remote regions of the State, the Presbyterians brought with them their traditional demand for a trained clergy. Consequently, in addition to Dickinson and Tennent's Log College, they founded other colleges and universities to serve the educational needs of a frontier people that the virtually inaccessible institutions of the East could scarcely provide. This process continued throughout the nineteenth century until a network of Presbyterian colleges dotted the landscape and marked the denomination as among the most prolific in stimulating the rise of institutions of higher education.

1. JEFFERSON COLLEGE

Jefferson College had its origin as an academy established at Canonsburg, Washington County, in July, 1791.¹ Situated in the sparsely inhabited wilderness of the western frontier, the academy arose from the need of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlers to found a school for the training of their prospective ministers.² That this purpose was continued by the college and largely realized is confirmed by the testimony of the trustees, years later: "This Institution was founded principally for educating young men for the Gospel ministry, and this end it has remarkably answered."³

If the peoples of western Pennsylvania were to receive an education above the common-school level, it was clear that they had to do so on their own initiative and effort. The established academies and colleges of the east were virtually inaccessible. Writing of his experiences in removing his family to Washington County in 1778, John McMillan, one of the principal founders of Canonsburg Academy, described the Spartan state of existence west of the mountains. His cabin had neither

¹ Joseph Smith, *History of Jefferson College: Including an Account of the Early "Log-Cabin" Schools, and the Canonsburg Academy* (Pittsburgh, 1857), 25 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 6-7; Jefferson College, Minutes of Trustees, I, December 29, 1817, p. 96. These minutes are preserved at Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania.

³ *Ibid.*

roof nor chimney. He had "neither bedstead, nor table, nor chair, nor stool, nor pail, nor bucket," for "there being no wagon road," he could bring nothing with him "but what was carried on pack-horses."⁴

Three years after its founding, the academy was chartered by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and approved by Governor Thomas Mifflin, March 19, 1794.⁵ Very early in the life of the academy the trustees considered the possibility of endowing it with collegiate rank. Their first recorded minute contains a petition to the legislature begging that the town of Canonsburg be considered as the site of any contemplated college to be erected west of the mountains.⁶

In October, 1800, the trustees set on foot a movement to have the academy changed into a college.⁷ A committee was appointed to draft a petition to the legislature, and in January, 1802, the General Assembly chartered Jefferson College at Canonsburg with the right to grant such degrees "as are usually granted and conferred in other colleges, in the United States. . . ." No person was to be denied admittance as principal, professor, or student because of his religious persuasion.⁸

Two days after they had taken the oath of office (April 27, 1802) the trustees elected a faculty consisting of a principal, "who is also to be professor of Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, Logic, &c."; a professor of divinity; and a professor of the mathematics and natural philosophy. They decided that the "languages be taught as hitherto in the Academy by the professor; That the Mathematics be taught till the fall in the manner hitherto in the Academy;" and "That the professor of Moral Philosophy teach all who would wish to apply to it, Logick, Rhetorick, Geography, &c."⁹

Apparently desirous of exercising as quickly as possible their newly won degree-conferring powers, the trustees decreed "That in the fall all, who by attending thro' the season on the Institution, shall sustain an examination on the languages, Geography, Mathematicks, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Rhetorick, Logick, Mytiphisicks [*sic*], Roman and Greek Antiquities and History shall receive a degree."¹⁰ In ac-

⁴ John McMillan, "Autobiographical Sketch," Smith, *Jefferson College*, 416.

⁵ Letter of Attorney Book, IV, 300-302, Bureau of Land Records, Department of Internal Affairs, State Capitol, Harrisburg.

⁶ Canonsburg Academy, Minutes of Trustees, I, January 25, 1796, p. 1. These minutes are preserved at Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania.

⁷ Smith, *Jefferson College*, 51.

⁸ Bioren, *Laws*, VI, 209.

⁹ Jefferson College, Minutes of Trustees, I, April 29, 1802, p. 31.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

cordance with that decree, five young men received their Bachelor of Arts degrees in October, 1802, the first degrees to be conferred by Jefferson College.¹¹

At the same meeting, the trustees agreed to continue the grammar school and to organize a three-year college course, "the Students to continue for one year in the study of the branches belonging to these respective classes." To enter the first or freshman class, the trustees decreed that "it is necessary that the student sustain an examination on the authors assigned to the grammar school and Arithmetic." Further, no degree was to be granted after the fall of 1803, "to any Student, who has not continued two years at least in the College and sustained an examination on the languages and on the Arts and Sciences aforementioned."¹²

With only occasional and slight modifications,¹³ this three-year course remained in force until 1820. At that time the trustees reviewed and amended their regulations and adopted a curriculum providing for four college classes to be designated as freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior.¹⁴

Thoroughly Presbyterian in its origins and its character, the institution, nevertheless, attempted to remain free from ecclesiastical control during its years of independent existence. Approached by the Synod of Pittsburgh to place the college under its care, the trustees declined the proposed connection on the following grounds:

Fidelity to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania from which we hold our charter, and from which considerable donations in money have from time to time been received, precludes us from the right to transfer to other hands and for other purposes than those originally contemplated, a trust so important and assumed under the solemnities of an oath.

The very terms of our charter would be violated in their spirit at least, by surrendering the exclusive control of the institution to any one religious denomination.

It is true that the institution has always been predominantly Presbyterian in its character from the fact that it was originally planted in the midst of a population almost exclusively Presbyterian and has always been dependent chiefly on Presbyterian Patronage. This character it is expected still to maintain. Its Presbyterianism, however, has never been exclusive or sectarian. . . . To usurp the exclusive control of an institution in which

¹¹ *Ibid.*, October 28, 1802, p. 36.

¹² *Ibid.*, 32-33.

¹³ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1813, p. 81.

¹⁴ *Laws of Jefferson College* (Washington, Pa., 1820), 4.

others are alike interested in proportion to their numbers would be a gross violation of good faith and Christian courtesy.¹⁵

Situated but seven miles from Washington College, Washington, Pennsylvania, and subserving the same or similar Presbyterian interests in a sparsely settled community hard pressed to support one institution, let alone two, it was almost inevitable that attempts would be made to unite Jefferson College with its close neighbor. The first move towards union was initiated scarcely a year after Washington Academy was elevated to collegiate rank. In 1807 the trustees of Washington College appointed a committee to confer with a similar committee from Jefferson College, if one should be appointed, "on the subject of a union of the two institutions."¹⁶ Such a committee was appointed,¹⁷ and conversations between the two schools were begun. They bore no fruit because neither side would agree as to the site of the combined college.¹⁸

Eight years later a second attempt at union was begun.¹⁹ Negotiations dragged on for two years. Feelings ran high. Each side accused the other of bad faith, of insincerity, and of double dealing.²⁰ Again, the point of most serious contention concerned the location of the combined college.²¹ Inability to reach agreement on this score once more doomed the unity movement to failure.

So bitter was the controversy and so sharp the antagonisms that developed that almost fifty years elapsed before conversations concerning unity were again instituted. True, a cautious feeler on the subject was projected by the Jefferson trustees in 1843.²² However, it was not until 1863, after the Presbyterian synods of Wheeling, Pittsburgh, and Ohio had taken unanimous action in favor of union and after the offer by an individual of a \$50,000 endowment for the combined college, that serious negotiations were resumed.²³ The formerly insur-

¹⁵ Jefferson College, Minutes of Trustees, II, March 29, 1854, pp. 134-36.

¹⁶ Washington College, Minutes of Trustees, I, May 1, 1807. These minutes are preserved at Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania.

¹⁷ Jefferson College, Minutes of Trustees, I, September 25, 1807, pp. 61-62.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1808, pp. 64-65.

¹⁹ Washington College, Minutes of Trustees, I, October 25, 1815.

²⁰ *Report of a Committee of the Board of Washington College, Respecting the Union of That College with Jefferson College* (n.p., 1817), 1-14; *Report of a Committee of the Board of Jefferson College in Answer to the Publication of the Washington Board* (n.p., 1818), 1-22.

²¹ Jefferson College, Minutes of Trustees, I, December 29, 1817, p. 96.

²² Washington College, Minutes of Trustees, I, March 29, 1843.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, November 5, 1863, pp. 60-62; Jefferson College, Minutes of Trustees, II, November 11, 1863, p. 186.

mountable problem of site was resolved by the expedient of conducting the senior, junior, and sophomore classes at Canonsburg; while the studies of the freshman class, the preparatory department, and the contemplated scientific department were to be pursued at Washington.²⁴ A charter was obtained from the legislature in March, 1865, embodying this compromise and incorporating the new institution as Washington and Jefferson College.²⁵

2. WASHINGTON COLLEGE

Like a few of its predecessors and many of its successors, Washington College, Washington, Pennsylvania, began life as an academy. Chartered by the legislature in September, 1787, the academy was granted an initial endowment of 5,000 acres of "the unappropriated lands of this commonwealth."²⁶ For more than a year after the receipt of the charter the trustees sought a suitable instructor. That they were concerned with literary accomplishment as well as morality in their teacher was evidenced by their reply to a letter from a Mr. Rudick recommending a Mr. Thomas, whose "Manners" and "Temper & principles" were extolled by Benjamin Franklin. "You know," the trustees stated, "we want not only an amiable and good man, but a Scholar. We want one well acquainted with the Genius of the English, Latin & Greek Languages."²⁷

The early years of its existence were somewhat precarious. The courthouse in which classes were originally held was damaged by fire; and inability to obtain a suitable building caused the trustees to suspend the operations of the academy for a number of years.²⁸ Competent teachers were scarce; especially those of Presbyterian persuasion who could fulfill successfully the dual requirements of the trustees to act "as the Pastor of this congregation and the principal of our Academy."²⁹

Stimulated, perhaps, by the success of its close neighbor, Canonsburg Academy, in acquiring collegiate rank in 1802, the trustees appointed a committee to draft a petition to the legislature "for the purpose of

²⁴ Washington College, Minutes of Trustees, II, October 13, 1864, pp. 83-86.

²⁵ Act of March 4, 1865, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1865*, p. 265.

²⁶ Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, XII, 527 (Act of September 24, 1787); Washington Academy, Minutes of Trustees, I, 5-7. These minutes are preserved at Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, November 25, 1788, pp. 11-12.

²⁸ Smith, *Jefferson College*, 11-12.

²⁹ Washington Academy, Minutes of Trustees, I, November 24, 1804.

granting our academy the powers and priviledges of a college.”³⁰ The petition was favorably received by the legislature, and the trustees were granted a charter for Washington College almost identical with that of Jefferson College.³¹

Shortly after the granting of the charter, the trustees elected a faculty consisting of the Reverend Matthew Brown as “Principal,” Mr. James Reed as “Professor of Mathematicks and Natural Philosophy,” and Dr. I. Blair as “Professor of Medicine.”³² The last appointment was most unusual since no mention was made of a contemplated medical school, and no particular teaching function was assigned Dr. Blair. In fact, the faculty provided for in the “Laws” adopted two weeks later, consisted of the principal, who was charged for the present with the teaching of the Latin and Greek languages, and the “Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy.”³³

Only those were to be admitted to the college, who on examination were found capable of translating “Sallust, Caesar’s Commentaries and Virgil, or other authors equivalent to these; to make grammatical Latin of any exercise in Moirs introduction; to translate into English any passage that may be assigned him from the Evangelist in the Greek Testament, and give a grammatical analysis of the words.”³⁴

The first college course of study adopted by the trustees in 1806 was stated only in the terms of the requirements for winning the degree. No provision was made for the organization of the students into definite classes, such as freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior; nor was any regulation adopted as to the number of years necessary for the completion of the full college course.³⁵ In a notice on March 19, 1807, the trustees announced “that this institution is now organized and opened for the reception of Students.” They proclaimed that “The method and course of Education pursued, is the same as is now practiced and approved of in Princeton, and in the other most eminent Seminaries in the United States.”³⁶ The following year four students satisfactorily completed the “course of Education . . . now practiced

³⁰ *Ibid.*, November 23, 1805.

³¹ Act of March 28, 1806, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1804-1806*, p. 573.

³² Washington College, Minutes of Trustees, I, December 13, 1806.

³³ *Ibid.*, December 26, 1806; Washington College, *The Bye Laws; or, Standing Rules of the Board of Trustees of Washington College* (Washington, Pa., 1807), 2-3.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁶ Washington *Western Telegraphe*, and *Washington Advertiser*, May 30, 1807.

and approved of in Princeton" and were granted the degree of Bachelor of Arts.³⁷

The records are silent as to when a four-year plan of organization was adopted. For years the curriculum remained virtually unchanged. It was not until 1824 that the earliest existing catalogue of Washington College contained a graded four-year course of study which differed little from that announced in the "Laws" of 1806.³⁸

Untroubled by considerations which prevented Jefferson College from acquiescing in ecclesiastical control, the trustees of Washington College appointed a committee in 1851 "to confer with the Committee on Synodical Colleges of the Synod of Wheeling, to consider the propriety and expediency of placing the College under the care of that Synod."³⁹ The committee reported favorably; for in the following year organic connection was effected between the college and the Synod of Wheeling under the stipulation that all members of the board of trustees and all faculty members were to be appointed and approved by the synod.⁴⁰

3. ALLEGHENY COLLEGE

The idea of establishing an institution of higher education at Meadville, Crawford County, was advanced at a meeting of interested gentlemen held June 20, 1815, who considered the establishment of a college especially necessary at this time because of an anticipated "unprecedented call for the labours of the heralds of the gospel. . . ."⁴¹ So well conceived was the plan for the projected college, that this initial meeting was able to agree on a name, "Alleghany College"; to select a president and faculty; to set the date for the admission of the first freshman class as July 4, 1816; to propose a plan of rapport with the public academies then in existence or to be created in the counties of Crawford, Erie, Warren, Venango, Mercer, and Butler, to act as a source of students; to appoint one committee to "prepare an address to the Legislature requesting a Charter" and another to "draught a code of laws and regulations for the government of the College"; and to establish machinery for the solicitation of funds.⁴² In addition to the adoption of these measures, the assembled gentlemen endowed

³⁷ Washington and Jefferson College, *General Catalogue* (1872), 45.

³⁸ Washington College, *Catalogue* (September, 1824), 1-3.

³⁹ Washington College, *Minutes of Trustees*, I, September 23, 1851.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, November 9, 1852.

⁴¹ Meadville *Crawford Weekly Messenger*, June 24, 1815.

⁴² *Ibid.*

their plans with material substance by pledging \$4,635 to inaugurate the treasury of their new institution.⁴³

By act of the Pennsylvania legislature, Allegheny College was chartered in March, 1817, with the power to confer diplomas and degrees "in the different liberal arts and sciences." In the event of the abuses of the privileges of the charter, the legislature reserved the right to remove the president and trustees and to appoint others in their place.⁴⁴

Following receipt of the charter the trustees met and elected the Reverend Timothy Alden as president of the board, John Reynolds as secretary, and Roger Alden as treasurer.⁴⁵ A future meeting was arranged "for the purpose of choosing a President of the Faculty of Arts . . . and a Professor or Professors of the Oriental Languages, Ecclesiastical History, and Theology"; of setting a date for the annual commencement; of determining the course of study, and the books to be used; of fixing the price of tuition; and of adopting "a code of Laws."⁴⁶

In accordance with the above decision, the trustees met and elected the president of their board, Timothy Alden, as the first "President of the Faculty of Arts of Allegheny College." At the same meeting he was chosen to assume the duties of "Librarian and Cabinet Keeper." Two weeks later Alden was appointed "Professor of the Oriental Languages, Ecclesiastical History, and Theology," and was inducted into all these offices at an elaborate commencement ceremony held at the courthouse in Meadville.⁴⁷ Evidently not yet sufficiently burdened with all these duties, Timothy Alden was elected "Secretary of the Board" the following year.⁴⁸

For the first four years of its life, Allegheny College had a one-man faculty and administrative staff.⁴⁹ Not until after the first class graduated was a "Professor of Rhetorick and Belles Lettres" elected.⁵⁰

⁴³ Chester Arthur Darling, "The Material Growth of a College" (manuscript in President's Office, Allegheny College, Meadville), 2.

⁴⁴ Act of March 24, 1817, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1816-1817*, p. 236.

⁴⁵ Allegheny College, Minutes of Trustees, I, May 26, 1817, pp. 3-4. These minutes are preserved at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, June 11, 1817, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1817, p. 16; July 19, 1817, pp. 17-19.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, April 6, 1818, p. 26.

⁴⁹ A professor of German was elected in 1820. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1820, p. 50. Since German was not included in the subjects leading to the degree (see *ibid.*, July 4, 1817, p. 13), the sole responsibility for instruction in the required curriculum leading to the A.B. was Alden's.

⁵⁰ Allegheny College, Minutes of Trustees, I, October 1, 1821, pp. 134-35.

Furthermore, these prodigious instructional and administrative tasks were performed by Alden without remuneration. Six years elapsed from the day of his inauguration before the trustees "Resolved that the Rev. Timothy Alden, President of All. Coll. is entitled to a liberal remuneration for his past services and to a generous compensation as an encouragement for his future exertions." Yet even this belatedly "liberal" but unspecified "generous compensation" was to be dependent on his "future exertions." For at the same meeting it was "Resolved that the Rev. T. Alden be authorized and requested to solicit donations for the purpose of increasing the funds of All. Coll."⁵¹

The first "Laws of Allegheny College" adopted by the trustees in 1817 provided for the organization of the college "into four distinct classes," designated as freshman, sophomore, junior sophisters, and senior sophisters. Admission to the freshman class was to be based on "an ability to construe and parse the Select Orations of Cicero, the *Æneid* of Virgil, and the Greek Testament, to write Latin grammatically, and to solve questions under the four fundamental rules of common arithmetick." A four-year graded course of study to be taught by the encyclopedic Reverend Alden was adopted.⁵²

Since the creation of the freshman class was a matter of immediate concern, only those authors and books connected with the first year of college study were listed.⁵³ How closely the curriculum adopted in 1817 was adhered to, only he who singlehandedly administered it and those few who were exposed to its discipline could say. The available evidence would indicate that compromises were effected both with respect to its length and its content. This was acknowledged in part by the trustees when they "Resolved that Alden, primus, Alden, secundus, Derickson, and White, students of Allegheny College, having gone through the prescribed collegiate course of studies, as far as the circumstances of our infant institution would admit, receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the next anniversary commencement."⁵⁴ The commencement was held on July 4, 1821, and the following day the trustees expressed their approval "of the several exercises performed on the anniversary commencement, by the young gentlemen, constituting the first class of Allegheny College, who received the Degree

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, December 2, 1823, p. 232.

⁵² *Ibid.*, July 4, 1817, pp. 10-13.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, July 19, 1817, pp. 13-14.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, April 26, 1821, p. 112.

of Bachelor of Arts" and their appreciation for "the care and attention of the President of the College in his unwearied exertions to cultivate the minds of his pupils."⁵⁵

Despite the "unwearied exertions" of its president, the institution languished. In a petition to the legislature for aid (1825), the trustees stated that "For some years past the institution has been partially in operation, but from the limited means within its power its students have been few." They asked for an appropriation of \$7,500 to complete the college building and to pay their debts and declared that unless such aid were forthcoming no efforts need be made to procure students.⁵⁶ Although the legislature did grant the college \$4,000 in 1827, the trustees deemed it sufficient only to complete the building of the college edifice. They maintained that "we are without funds. . . . We have, at present, no students and no prospects of obtaining any until we have the necessary teachers and professors in the different branches to carry on a regular course of collegiate studies."⁵⁷

Various measures were attempted in an effort to save the institution. Beginning with 1827, the trustees resolved to lease the building to "a person properly qualified" to conduct a "Military Academy."⁵⁸ Vigorous opposition to the idea was expressed by Timothy Alden,⁵⁹ and no action was taken for almost two years. The pressure of straitened finances again induced the trustees to reconsider the measure.⁶⁰ A superintendent was chosen who indicated his acceptance of the office; and on April 27, 1829, the trustees issued a statement to the public in which they announced the transformation of the college into a military academy, the course of study to be pursued, and the opening of the academy "on the second Tuesday of June."⁶¹ The plan never materialized. Neither the minutes of the trustees nor other sources indicate the reasons for its abandonment.

Following this stillborn measure, the trustees the same year exerted new efforts to revive the college. Two new professors were elected—

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, July 5, 1821, p. 123.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, October 28, 1825, pp. 316-17.

⁵⁷ Act of April 14, 1827, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1826-1827*, p. 321; Allegheny College, Minutes of Trustees, II, December 26, 1828, pp. 45-46.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, January 9, 1827, p. 5.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, January 16, 1827, pp. 6-9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, December 26, 1828, pp. 45-50.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, March 23, 1829, p. 52; "Allegheny College Military School," *Hazard's Register*, III (May 9, 1829), 300-301.

one of natural philosophy and the other of mathematics.⁶² A committee was appointed, which, together with the faculty, was to revise the laws of the college, to prepare a prospectus of studies, and to determine the tuition fees.⁶³ Upon their adoption, they were submitted to the press for publication.⁶⁴ A few months later another committee was appointed "to devise ways and means for procuring . . . a piece of land . . . to be used for Agricultural purposes, in order to afford a useful exercise, and in aid of the students connected with this institution."⁶⁵

All this was to no avail. Only six young men appeared to enroll for the on-coming college term.⁶⁶ No doubt wearied after sixteen years of unremitting exertions, Timothy Alden in August, 1831, "tendered his resignation as a Trustee, President of the Faculty of Arts, Professor of the Oriental Languages, Ecclesiastical History, and Theology, Librarian, Secretary of the Board, Keeper of the Cabinet, and Agent for soliciting benefactions of Allegheny College."⁶⁷ His resignation tolled the final knell of the languishing institution. Allegheny College was closed.⁶⁸

Of the many measures tried to resuscitate the college, only one proved efficacious. As early as 1827 the trustees appointed a committee to open negotiations between themselves and the "Methodist Society."⁶⁹ No agreement was effected, and for the next four years the trustees resorted to the expedients described above. Simultaneously with the announcement of Alden's resignation, a committee was again appointed to attend the Methodist conference "for the purpose of making an arrangement with that Society in relation to Allegheny College."⁷⁰ This effort was successful. Articles of agreement were adopted between the trustees and the Pittsburgh Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The articles stipulated that the college be placed under the patronage of the conference and that the conference nomi-

⁶² Allegheny College, Minutes of Trustees, II, July 25, 1829, pp. 59-60; *Eric Gazette*, August 6, 1829.

⁶³ Allegheny College, Minutes of Trustees, II, September 5, 1829, pp. 60-61.

⁶⁴ "Prospectus of Allegheny College," *Hazard's Register*, IV (October 31, 1829), 275-76.

⁶⁵ Allegheny College, Minutes of Trustees, II, December 4, 1829, pp. 68-69.

⁶⁶ Darling, "The Material Growth of a College," 8.

⁶⁷ Allegheny College, Minutes of Trustees, II, August 11, 1831, pp. 86-87; November 11, 1831, pp. 88-89.

⁶⁸ Johnson, "Education in Pennsylvania and New York," *Hazard's Register*, XI (January 26, 1833), 64.

⁶⁹ Allegheny College, Minutes of Trustees, II, March 17, 1827, pp. 12-13.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1831, p. 85.

nate one-half of all the vacancies to the board of trustees, designate the faculty, and raise an endowment fund of \$10,000.⁷¹ Thus, control of Allegheny College passed from the hands of the Presbyterians to those of the Methodists.

4. THE WESTERN UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA (UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH)⁷²

Pittsburgh, in the closing years of the eighteenth century was little more than a clearing in the wilderness, a town of less than four hundred people of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian stock,⁷³ whose regard and desire for education have been noted. Possessing neither schools nor academies where children could receive an education above the level supplied by private tutors, a movement was initiated to persuade the legislature to charter an academy in that region. In 1786 an anonymous article appeared in the local press⁷⁴ in which an eloquent plea was voiced for the establishment of an educational institution at Pittsburgh. The author pointed to the inaccessibility of Dickinson College at Carlisle and the University of the State of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia. He insisted that Pittsburgh was eminently deserving of the legislature's consideration and capped his plea with the argument that "Academies are the furnaces which melt the natural ore to real metal; the shops where the thunder-bolts of the orator are forged. Cultivated genius has the force of electric fire."⁷⁵

Either moved by the anonymous Hugh Henry Brackenridge's eloquence or convinced of the necessity of providing schools for all parts of the Commonwealth, the legislature incorporated the Pittsburgh Academy in 1787.⁷⁶ A teacher was obtained for the academy, and it was announced that the school would be opened on April 13, 1789, for those who wished to have their children instructed "in the Learned Languages, English, and the Mathematics."⁷⁷ By 1817 the curriculum was advertised as containing Hebrew, as well as Greek, Latin and

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, July 31, 1832, pp. 96-98.

⁷² The early history of the university has been pieced together from contemporary newspapers, magazines, and similar sources since the minutes of trustees and other records of the institution were consumed by the fire which destroyed the college building in 1845.

⁷³ Agnes L. Starrett, *Through One Hundred and Fifty Years: The University of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1937), 58.

⁷⁴ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, September 2, 1786; Starrett, *University of Pittsburgh*, 15.

⁷⁵ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, September 2, 1786.

⁷⁶ *Pennsylvania, Statutes at Large*, XII, 357 (Act of February 28, 1787).

⁷⁷ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 11, 1789.

French languages, moral philosophy, geography, "and the several branches of Mathematics."⁷⁸

Considering the academy as "inadequate to the accommodation and complete education of the students" and desiring an institution that would provide for the educational needs of the west as the University of Pennsylvania did for the eastern section of the State, the trustees petitioned the legislature for a university charter.⁷⁹ The petition was favorably received and "The Western University of Pennsylvania" was created by an act of the General Assembly signed February 18, 1819.⁸⁰ The charter empowered the institution to grant "such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences . . . as are usually granted and conferred in other universities in the United States of America." Further, it awarded to the trustees forty acres of vacant lands belonging to the Commonwealth in the town of Allegheny. The trustees of the Pittsburgh Academy were authorized to convey all the estate real, personal, and mixed, of the academy to the newly created university.⁸¹

More than a year elapsed after the granting of the charter before the trustees were prepared to announce the opening of the university in the repaired academy building with the Reverends Robert Bruce and John Black teaching a course of study that in no way differed from the academy curriculum of former years.⁸² It was not until July 4, 1822, that a graded course of study was adopted providing for four years of preparatory and three years of college work. The college department was to be divided into four classes or divisions denominated "the *Neosoph*, *Polysoph*, *Pleiosoph*, and *Pleistosoph* classes." Attendance on the two former classes was set at a half year each, and on the two latter classes at a full year each.⁸³

The "great aim" of the trustees in constructing this curriculum was "to blend the *solid* with the *ornamental*; the *useful* with the *elevated*; to unite the *popular* with the *practical* modes of instruction; and, keeping constantly in view the *track* of *nature*, to conform the system, here reported, as well to the development of the history of the intellectual man, through the medium of ancient languages, as to the *common* pursuits of human life, and the *political institutions* of the country."

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1817.

⁷⁹ Act of February 18, 1819, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1818-1819*, p. 61.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Pittsburgh Mercury*, April 11, 1820; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, May 8, 1820.

⁸³ *The System of Education, the Code of Discipline, and the Professorships, Adopted by the Trustees of the Western University of Pennsylvania, July 4, 1822* (Pittsburgh, 1822), 8-12.

They acknowledged that there are "*some deviations*, in the above course, from the general usages of other colleges," yet they confidently believed "that the system, here recommended, will be eminently calculated, *if executed in its spirit*, to promote the *solid attainments of the student* in his literary course, and that the same is founded on the *known laws* of the human mind."⁸⁴

Five professorships were established to conduct the contemplated college course. Their labors were divided as follows:

1. Of Natural Philosophy, Mathematicks, Chemistry, Geology, Mineralogy, Natural History, Ancient and Modern Geography, Chronology, Civil and Ecclesiastical History, Natural Theology, The History of the Progress of Human Society, Political Economy, and General Policy.

2. Of Oriental Languages and Literatures; Ancient Languages, and Classical Literature, including Mythology, Antiquities and Philology.

3. Of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, embracing Logic, Metaphysics, Moral Science, Christian Ethics, and the general evidences of Christianity.

4. Of Rhetoric, and Belles Lettres, including Orthography, Composition, Criticism, private Reading, Recitations, Disputation, and Public Declamation.

5. Of Modern Languages, comprehending English, Anglo-Saxon, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Universal Grammar.⁸⁵

It is doubtful whether this course was pursued in its entirety. The following year, on the first anniversary of its adoption, three young men were certified as having completed the college course and were granted the Bachelor of Arts degree, the first such degrees conferred by the institution.⁸⁶ In 1824, two years after the college course had been formulated, six more young men received the degree of Bachelor of Arts.⁸⁷ Certainly the modern languages were not considered part of the required curriculum. A newspaper advertisement signed by the principal of the university informed prospective students that each of the departments of study might be pursued separately at moderate cost and that if a class could be formed for the Spanish and French, "the Rev. Mr. M'Guire will commence immediately to teach these languages."⁸⁸

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸⁶ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, July 11, 1823; *Pittsburgh Mercury*, July 8, 1823.

⁸⁷ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, July 2, 1824; *Pittsburgh Recorder*, July 6, 1824.

⁸⁸ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, September 9, 1825.

Hard times militated against the realization of the college program envisioned by the trustees in 1822. Writing in 1829, Robert Bruce, the principal of the university, described the economic difficulties of the times and spoke of the institution as an "Academy."⁸⁹ Six years later the trustees announced that they were "determined to close the University, as a means of arousing a proper feeling on the subject of Education, and to seek for a man qualified to organize and conduct the Institution for the benefit of the thousand young men growing up amongst us."⁹⁰ By 1837 the professorial staff had been so diminished that only two professors remained in the collegiate department.⁹¹ In his report to the State Superintendent of Common Schools, the school superintendent of Allegheny County stated that the "Preparatory School . . . is the only department at present in operation. . . . The Institution is destitute of means . . . [and the trustees] want to make a good *College* now, and may make a *University* hereafter."⁹² In 1845 the college building was destroyed by fire, and, though classes were continued in temporary housing until a new building was erected, a second conflagration in 1849 compelled the trustees "to suspend the exercises of the University."⁹³ Six years elapsed before the trustees were able to erect a new building,⁹⁴ and it was in 1856 that the faculty of the reopened institution was installed.⁹⁵ From this time on the university enjoyed an uninterrupted life.

5. LAFAYETTE COLLEGE

Up to this time Presbyterians had been active, particularly in the western part of the State, in establishing colleges offering in the main the traditional classical curriculum. The organizers of Lafayette College had an additional purpose in mind when they held their first public meeting at Easton, Northampton County, December 27, 1824. They declared it as their intention "to establish at this place, a civil and military institution of learning, which shall comprise in its course

⁸⁹ Robert Bruce to Henry Bruce, April 5, 1829, Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh.

⁹⁰ Pittsburgh Gazette, August 4, 1835; Hazard's Register, XVI (August 15, 1835), 100-102.

⁹¹ Harris' Pittsburgh Business Directory (1837), 115-16.

⁹² Pennsylvania, Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools . . . [1837], 70. These reports will hereafter be cited as PRSCS along with the particular year.

⁹³ Western University of Pennsylvania, Minutes of Trustees, April 14, 1845, p. 76; July 24, 1849, pp. 129-30. These minutes are preserved at the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

⁹⁴ Ibid., June 21, 1855, pp. 165-67.

⁹⁵ Ibid., December 19, 1856, p. 186.

of instruction, the dead, the English, French & German Languages, mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, mechanics, geography, history, and generally the various branches taught in our colleges and universities, together with civil and military engineering and military tactics." At the same meeting they appointed a committee to draw up a petition to the State legislature requesting a charter and aid in the erecting of a college at Easton.⁹⁶

Their memorial to the legislature pointed out that "not only should all our citizens understand their rights, they should also be taught how to defend them." The purpose was not to create a military system in the European sense of the term, but to develop a citizen's militia which "identifies the soldier with the Citizen," as "the only military system congenial with the spirit of our Institutions." It was emphasized that with "the exception of the Military Academy, at West Point, and one private Institution," Americans had no schools devoted to training in military science.⁹⁷

Further, the new institution was to differ from its predecessors both with respect to admission requirements and methodology. "In the first place," the petition stated, "it is proposed to admit Students, with no other previous Qualifications than the rudiments of an English education." Secondly, to conform with this departure from standard practice, changes in teaching method were proposed since "It is believed . . . that the Method of Instruction adopted in our Seminaries is injudicious and tedious, and that one may be substituted which will enable us materially to abridge the time without abridging the acquisitions of the Student." The innovations in teaching procedures were considered by the petitioners as being particularly significant for the first three or preparatory years of the course since it was at this time that students were less "capable of self-tuition." They proposed, consequently, to place "each Class . . . under the Eye and immediate Tuition of a teacher during the Hours of study," thereby extending to the students "greater facilities . . . while in the Rudiments of a subject, than is usual." Perhaps the idea, they declared, "will be comprehensibly expressed, if we say, that . . . [the student] shall *be taught* Rudiments, rather than *made to learn* them."⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, I, December 27, 1824, pp. i-ii. These minutes are preserved at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

Nor was it intended that departures from the traditional be confined to methodology. The founders of Lafayette College were convinced that the prevailing college curriculum suffered from want of the practical and useful. It was their intention to select such branches of study "as will not only discipline the Mind, and induce habits of patient Investigation, but also directly subserve the purposes of life." They considered it strange that "Civil Engineering has of late become a very important Branch of Education," yet "not a College in our Country (if we are correctly informed) has made it a part of their Course." Similarly, the trustees intended to remedy the prevailing neglect of modern foreign languages, and they proposed to place particular stress on the acquisition of the German tongue since it was "the vernacular of a large and respectable Portion of this Commonwealth."⁹⁹

Superadded to the college course, and giving it its special uniqueness, was to be instruction in military tactics. It was intended that such instruction should neither supersede nor curtail the academic studies. Time for its pursuit was to be taken from those leisure moments usually permitted students for exercise.¹⁰⁰

More than a year elapsed before the legislature signified its approval of the design of the founders of Lafayette College by granting them a charter. The charter, dated March 9, 1826, declared it to be their purpose to erect "a college for the education of youth in the various branches of science and literature, the useful arts, military science, tactics and engineering, and the learned and foreign languages. . . ." The name "La Fayette college" was given the proposed institution "In memory, and out of respect for the signal services rendered by general La Fayette, in the great cause of freedom. . . ."¹⁰¹

In addition to the usual charter privileges, including the right to grant such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences as are usually granted in other colleges and universities, the charter specifically required "That there shall be forever maintained in the said college a professorship of the German language, and in addition to the usual course of collegiate studies, there shall be taught in, and at the said institution, military science and tactics, and civil and military engineering." To implement the latter of these two provisions the Adjutant General of the Commonwealth was instructed to supply the institution with the

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Act of March 9, 1826, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1825-1826*, p. 76.

necessary weapons and military materials "so soon as the said college shall be organised and ready for the reception of students."¹⁰²

Shortly following receipt of the charter, the trustees met and elected their officers.¹⁰³ A committee was appointed to inquire into the probable costs of a lot and building to accommodate students.¹⁰⁴ Little or no progress having been made in securing a faculty and in raising funds for a site and building after a year of effort, it was proposed to investigate the possibility of union with an institution labeled by the trustees "Mount Airy College."¹⁰⁵ The offer of amalgamation was rejected in 1827 by Benjamin Constant and A. S. Roumfort, proprietors of the "American Classical and Military Lyceum" (the so-called Mount Airy College), on the grounds that "This institution is of our own creation, the premises are ours, we have at present Eighty Scholars all boarders with fair hopes of increase and you will readily conclude that it cannot be our interest to abandon such substantial advantages for mere expectations at any other place."¹⁰⁶

The six years following their incorporation as trustees of Lafayette College were years of unrequited labor. Notwithstanding its legal existence since March, 1826, the college had no actual existence as an institution until March, 1832.¹⁰⁷ In 1828 the board lamented that "All that has as yet been accomplished by the Trustees of the Institution has been to organize their Board by choosing its officers. Their efforts as yet to procure the necessary buildings and funds, and proper professors have not been successful."¹⁰⁸ They attributed their failure to public preoccupation with matters of state and to public indifference to education.¹⁰⁹

When the college did open, it was on a plan different from the one promulgated by the founders. The Reverend George Junkin agreed to assume the office of president of the institution provided the "Military requisitions of the Charter could be dispensed with."¹¹⁰ Consequently, an amendment to the charter was sought and obtained from the legis-

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, I, May 15, 1826, p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, May 27, 1826, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, August 14, 1827, p. 14.

¹⁰⁶ B. Constant and A. S. Roumfort to trustees of Lafayette College, October 21, 1827, *ibid.*, February 16, 1828, pp. 14-15.

¹⁰⁷ James M. Porter, *An Address Delivered Before the Literary Societies of Lafayette College, at Easton, Pa., July 4, 1832* (Easton, 1832), 11.

¹⁰⁸ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, I, March 1, 1828, p. 16.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, October 10, 1832, p. 31.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, February 6, 1832, p. 26; Porter, *Literary Societies*, 11-12.

lature in April, 1832, declaring it "lawful . . . for the trustees of La Fayette college, if they shall deem it advisable to dispense with the maintenance and observance of military discipline, and with the teaching of military science and tactics, and civil and military engineering at the said institution. . . ." ¹¹¹

Having obtained as their president for the college the former principal of the defunct Manual Labor Academy of Pennsylvania located at Germantown, the trustees agreed to pattern their school along the lines laid down by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and Philip Emanuel Von Fellenberg at Hofwyl. ¹¹² A sixty-acre farm with buildings was leased for two years. ¹¹³ Requiring more space to house the students and the family of the president, a building was erected almost entirely from the labor of the students who accompanied President Junkin from the Manual Labor Academy. ¹¹⁴

Equipped with the minimum essentials of farm and buildings, the trustees opened the first formal term of the college (May 9, 1832) with forty-three students. This number was shortly increased to fifty-six, filling the buildings to capacity and making it necessary to refuse the applications for entrance of many others. ¹¹⁵ A faculty was elected to assist the president in his academic duties, consisting of a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, a professor of Latin and Greek languages and a professor of chemistry and mineralogy; and a four-year graded course of study was adopted. For those students lacking the necessary qualifications for college entrance, the trustees formulated a preparatory course. In addition to this, a "School Teachers Course" was constructed (probably the first formal teacher training course to be adopted by a Pennsylvania college), for the successful completion of which a teaching diploma was to be issued. ¹¹⁶

Evaluating the institution's progress for the first year, though it was only a partial one, the trustees expressed satisfaction with both the agricultural and mechanical operations. They reported that the "farming operations have prospered" and that a prosperous business resulted from the students' manufacture of trunk handles and irons

¹¹¹ Act of April 7, 1832, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1831-1832*, p. 376.

¹¹² Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, I, October 10, 1832, p. 31; "La Fayette College," *American Annals of Education*, III (February, 1833), 91; Porter, *Literary Societies*, 12.

¹¹³ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, I, February 6, 1832, p. 26.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, October 10, 1832, pp. 33-34.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, August 10, October 10, 1832, pp. 29, 32, 36-37. For a detailed discussion on this course and the reasons for its creation, see Chapter XXI on teacher training.

for cultivators, of packing boxes, and of trunks. Similar pleasure was expressed over the results of the examinations embracing "the course of Study in the English, Classical and Mathematical Departments." At the same time it was recognized that the institution lacked necessary facilities like a library and scientific apparatus for conducting a full four-year college course, and, as a consequence, only the freshman and sophomore years were being offered.¹¹⁷

The minutes of the trustees do not record when the decision was reached to offer the junior and senior years. It was probable that these were added either in 1834 or 1835; for, according to the college catalogue, the first degree in the arts was conferred upon four students in 1836.¹¹⁸ The alternative date of 1835 was chosen because the first mention in the minutes of the trustees of the granting of degrees in course occurred in 1837 when the board, upon recommendation of the faculty, resolved to confer the Bachelor of Arts on three members of the senior class.¹¹⁹

Apparently successful in the initial stages of its introduction, the experiment involving agricultural and mechanical pursuits gave rise to problems and difficulties which rendered its continuance less desirable as the years elapsed. As early as 1833 the trustees reported "that our limited resources as to capital to supply work and shop room, have prevented us from employing in many cases the full term of three hours, the time allotted by our rules to labour."¹²⁰ Nor were means found to overcome these basically financial lacks. On the basis of a report of President Junkin (1839), in which he outlined the pecuniary losses accruing both to himself and to the college resulting from the payments made to students for their labors and in which he pointed out the opposition to the plan that emanated from the "laboring public," the board concurred with his recommendation to relinquish "this feature of our plan."¹²¹

Ostensibly founded upon nonsectarian principles, the college as it emerged from its infancy increasingly fell under Presbyterian influence. The original charter prohibited discrimination on religious grounds against any individual either as trustee, principal, professor, tutor, or

¹¹⁷ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, October 10, 1832, pp. 29, 33-35.

¹¹⁸ Lafayette College, *Catalogue* (1844-45), 5.

¹¹⁹ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, I, September 20, 1837, p. 82. It is to be noted that this pattern was followed in the conferring of all subsequent degrees. See *ibid.*, September 18, 1838, p. 83; September 4, 1839, p. 87.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, October 7, 1833, p. 47.

¹²¹ Lafayette College, *The Seventh Annual Report* (1839), 5-6.

pupil.¹²² In reply to a communication recommending a Reverend Mr. Jager for the principalship of the college, James Porter, president of the board of trustees, supported this legally established principle. He wrote: "In the original plan of our establishment we endeavored studiously to avoid the danger of the institution being Priest ridden. We deprecated the Clergy having it under their control, as being calculated to palsy its general usefulness, by giving it the character of Sectarianism."¹²³

The trustees as a body signified their intention of maintaining the nonsectarian character of the college demanded by the charter. In their first annual report they stated: "No religious sect is Known. The institution has always embraced many denominations, and still does so and the charter guarantees its privileges to all, without distinction of religious party."¹²⁴ When the college was threatened with the loss of a possible State appropriation because it reputedly favored one denomination over others, the trustees denied the charge; the students unanimously adopted resolutions declaring the accusation "groundless, slanderous and false," and affirmed that none of them was required to attend Presbyterian service and that each was permitted the church of his choice; and President Porter publicly proclaimed that "it is the desire of the board literally to fulfil" the charter injunctions against religious discrimination.¹²⁵

By 1840, however, the interest of the Presbyterian church in the college was manifested concretely and materially. In March of that year the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church of Easton directed that \$1,460.25 "was to be appropriated to the support of La Fayette College."¹²⁶ The following year the trustees unanimously resolved that in view of the provisions being made by the Presbyterian churches in the vicinity "for certain Beneficiaries of the church . . . Board be furnished to the Beneficiaries of the General Assembly Board of Education in the College Refectory at one Dollar per week and that

¹²² Act of March 9, 1826, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1825-1826*, p. 76.

¹²³ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, I, March 1, 1828, pp. 19-20.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, October 10, 1832, p. 32.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, February 12, 21, 1834, pp. 53, 54-55; James M. Porter, "Address and Charge," *Hazard's Register*, XIV (September 13, 1834), 174. Presumably these protests were convincing, because the legislature did pass an act for the endowment of Lafayette College, granting the institution an initial sum of \$4,000 plus \$2,000 annually for four years. Act of March 11, 1834, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1833-1834*, p. 107.

¹²⁶ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, I, March 13, 1840, p. 88.

the balance be made up from other sources."¹²⁷ An even more intimate relationship developed in which regular quarterly reports were sent to the Presbyterian Board of Education by the president of the college, and he in turn received the appropriations for students under the care of the Board of Education—a practice identical with the one pursued with Princeton College.¹²⁸

The year 1849 witnessed the final step in the transition process. A committee was appointed by the trustees "with plenary power to perfect such an Arrangement as shall be necessary for placing this Institution in Connection with the Philadelphia Synod of the Presbyterian Church."¹²⁹ Success crowned the efforts of the committee. An agreement was negotiated in which the college trustees agreed to fill all vacancies in the faculty and in its own body with those persons nominated by the synod. In addition to receiving an annual report from the trustees, the synod would appoint a board of visitors who would attend the semiannual examinations of the college and report the state of the institution to the church body. On its part the synod proposed to the Presbyterian Board of Education that \$1,000 annually be paid to Lafayette College. Nine persons tendered their resignations as trustees, and their places were filled by nominees from the synod.¹³⁰

Apparently dissatisfied with the measure of control it had obtained, the synod withheld its endorsement of the \$100,000 endowment plan, involving the sale of temporary and permanent scholarships, which was adopted by the college trustees.¹³¹ It demanded and obtained the resignation of all officers of the college not nominated by the synod,¹³² and this action produced the desired effect.¹³³ Legal sanction was obtained for the shift from an ostensibly nondenominational to a synodical college. By an act of the legislature in 1854, the Philadelphia Synod of the Presbyterian church was granted the power to replace those trustees who vacated their seats on the board of Lafayette College. In addition, the synod was invested with the right of appointing five visitors to the college, who could recommend dismissal of officers and professors.¹³⁴

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, July 12, 1841, p. 103.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, August 29, 1848, p. 194.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, September 18, 1849, p. 202.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, October 30, 1849, pp. 203-206.

¹³¹ Lafayette College, *Catalogue* (1852-53), 21-22.

¹³² Lafayette College, *Minutes of Trustees*, II, October 27, 1852, pp. 5-6.

¹³³ Lafayette College, *Catalogue* (1852-53), 21-22.

¹³⁴ Act of March 23, 1854, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1854*, p. 186.

6. DUQUESNE COLLEGE

The disaffection of the principal of the Western University of Pennsylvania because of what he considered to be criticism by the trustees of his management of the institution led to the founding in 1843 of Duquesne College.¹³⁵ Robert Bruce left the university, bringing with him the student members of its Tilghman Literary Society, and initiated classes "in the chapel and adjoining room of the New Baptist Church on Grant street near Sixth" in Pittsburgh.¹³⁶ In the same year, on August 4, 1843, the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County was petitioned for a charter to incorporate Duquesne College, which was granted February 17, 1844, and recorded in the recorder's office, February 24, 1848.¹³⁷ According to the charter, the college was established "for the purpose of extending the facilities and diffusing more widely the influence and advantages of classical learning." However, neither by specific direction nor by implication did the charter empower the trustees or the faculty to confer degrees on the graduates of the college.¹³⁸

Duquesne College had a busy but short existence. With no more than two professors and an assistant teacher it provided instruction "in the Learned Languages and Science" for seventy-two students and graduated six of them in August, 1844.¹³⁹ The following year eleven men received the Bachelor of Arts degree; and the college continued to confer degrees upon its graduates until its demise in 1849.¹⁴⁰ Following the death of its principal and founder, Robert Bruce, on June 16, 1846, the institution languished, but continued to operate with dimin-

¹³⁵ Starrett, *University of Pittsburgh*, 106-107; William Kerr and John Black to Trustees of Duquesne College, June 16, 1846, Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh.

¹³⁹ *Harris' Business Directory of the Cities of Pittsburgh & Allegheny* (Pittsburgh, 1844), 71.

¹³⁷ Allegheny County Deed Books, Vol. 80, pp. 430-32, Courthouse, Pittsburgh.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*; Starrett, *University of Pittsburgh*, 107, claims, without citing the source for her statement, that Duquesne College was "given the privileges of granting degrees." This is probably an error; the charter grants no such privileges, nor do the records of the recorder's office of Allegheny County show any subsequent amendments to the original charter awarding such powers.

¹³⁹ *Harris' Business Directory* (1844), 71; diploma issued to Alexander M. Watson, June 30, 1844, conferring the degree of "Bachelor in Liberal Arts," Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh.

¹⁴⁰ *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette and Advertiser*, August 7, 1843; Western University of Pennsylvania, Minutes of Trustees, June 4, 1883, pp. 244-45; Starrett, *University of Pittsburgh*, 107.

ished force until its charter was allowed to lapse after 1849.¹⁴¹ A post-mortem chapter in its checkered career was written by the trustees of the Western University of Pennsylvania in 1883, when they adopted the graduates of Duquesne College as alumni of the university and conferred the degree of Master of Arts upon those who were still living.¹⁴²

7. WAYNESBURG COLLEGE

Desirous of establishing a college under its influence, the Pennsylvania Presbytery of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church appointed a committee in April, 1849, to receive proposals from various localities on the aid each would contribute to erect buildings and endow professorships in a new college.¹⁴³ On the basis of the contributions of its citizens, the town of Waynesburg was chosen as the site of the projected college.¹⁴⁴

A charter was obtained from the State legislature in 1850, incorporating the Waynesburg College in the borough of Waynesburg, Greene County, "for the education of youth in the English and other languages, literature and the useful arts and sciences." A board of trustees of seven members, to be elected annually, was created, three to be chosen by the stockholders and four to be elected by the Pennsylvania Presbytery of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The faculty of the college, comprising the president and professors, were empowered "to grant and confirm such degrees in the arts and sciences . . . as are granted in other colleges and universities. . . ."¹⁴⁵

Upon completion of a three-story brick building in the autumn of 1851, the trustees opened the college for instruction on Tuesday,

¹⁴¹ *Harris' Business Directory* (1847), 64; *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XVIII (December, 1935), 297; Starrett, *University of Pittsburgh*, 107.

¹⁴² Western University of Pennsylvania, Minutes of Trustees, June 4, 1883, pp. 307-308, 311; *Pennsylvania District Reports*, II, 555.

¹⁴³ A. B. Miller, "Historical Sketch of Waynesburg College, Waynesburg, Pennsylvania," *Theological Medium*, XIV (January, 1878), 80-81; A. B. Miller, "Waynesburg College," in College and University Council, "Biennial Report of Higher Education in Pennsylvania," in Pennsylvania, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . 1900*, II (Harrisburg, 1901), 736-37; William Hanna, *History of Greene County, Pa.* (n.p., 1882), 179. The reports of the Pennsylvania Superintendent of Public Instruction will hereafter be cited as *PRSPI* along with the particular year.

¹⁴⁴ Hanna, *Greene County*, 180; Records of the Pennsylvania Synod of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, 1838-1853, entry of October 5, 1849, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

¹⁴⁵ Act of March 25, 1850, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1850*, p. 283.

November 4, 1851.¹⁴⁶ Two years later the college graduated its first class, composed of three men.¹⁴⁷ Following this, a four-year graded course of study was adopted.¹⁴⁸ In 1855 a "Scientific Course" was introduced embracing the same studies as those offered in the regular college course and differing from it only in that the study of the Greek and Latin languages was omitted. The successful completion of this "Scientific" curriculum led to the degree of Bachelor of Science.¹⁴⁹

Waynesburg College bears the distinction of being the first Pennsylvania institution of collegiate rank to be organized on a coeducational basis. From the outset the college employed women as members of the faculty.¹⁵⁰ It is true that a separate three-year course of study existed for what was termed the "Female Seminary" and for which no degree was offered;¹⁵¹ nevertheless, women were admitted to the regular college courses, and in 1857 three young ladies were granted the degree of Bachelor of Science upon the successful completion of the scientific course.¹⁵²

8. WESTMINSTER COLLEGE

Westminster College was founded by the presbyteries of Shenango and Ohio of the Associate Presbyterian Church (now the United Presbyterian Church)¹⁵³ for the combined purposes of establishing a "Presbyterial school for the education of young men for the ministry," and for "the mental and moral training of the youth of both sexes."¹⁵⁴ A charter was applied for in 1852 and was granted by the State legislature in April of the same year.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁶ A. F. Silveus, "Waynesburg College," *PRSPI*, 1877, pp. 286-87; Miller, "Waynesburg College," *ibid.*, 1900, II, 737.

¹⁴⁷ Waynesburg College, *Catalogue* (1858), 5; Miller, "Waynesburg College," *PRSPI*, 1900, II, 737.

¹⁴⁸ Waynesburg College, *Catalogue* (1853), 7-8.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* (1855), 9.

¹⁵⁰ Waynesburg College, Minutes of Trustees, I, April 27, 1852, preserved at the college in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania.

¹⁵¹ Waynesburg College, *Catalogue* (1853), 12.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* (1858), 5; diploma of Margaret L. Needham, September 23, 1857, in administration building at Waynesburg College.

¹⁵³ Westminster College, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 22, 1852, p. 3, preserved at the college in New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. On May 28, 1958, at the 170th General Assembly, the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America were united to form the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

¹⁵⁴ R. G. Ferguson, *The Early History of Westminster College* (n.p., [1917?]), 5-6.

¹⁵⁵ Westminster College, Minutes of Trustees, I, March 3, 1852, p. 1; Act of April 27, 1852, Pennsylvania, *Laws*, 1852, p. 470.

The original charter incorporated the Westminster Collegiate Institute "in the vicinity of New Wilmington" in Lawrence County. No mention was made of degree-granting powers.¹⁵⁶ A supplement to the charter obtained in 1859 corrected this omission; and, in addition to enabling the trustees to confer all the degrees common to a college, it empowered them "to establish, in connection with the collegiate department, the several departments of law, medicine and theology. . . ." ¹⁵⁷

Although the trustees had intended to open the college "by the first of April," 1852, failure to reach a sufficient number of prospective students forced the postponement of the opening until April 20, 1852.¹⁵⁸ When the first classes were initiated women were admitted on a parity with men, despite an initially unsuccessful attempt "to provide a separate room for the females to study in."¹⁵⁹ In this regard, the first catalogue of the institution states:

Young Ladies are admitted as Students both in the English and College course, on the same terms as Young Gentlemen. . . .

From the beginning, it has been, and still is with us, a matter of principle and propriety, to instruct both sexes in the same classes, and to bring both under the same laws and regulations.

A number of the Ladies in attendance are pursuing the regular College course, and we hope their success will tend to demonstrate that the best method of training and largely developing mind, belongs of right to Ladies as well as to Gentlemen.¹⁶⁰

A four-year college course of study was adopted in 1853 and revised before the close of the year.¹⁶¹ Having satisfied the faculty that he had "made such attainments in the various branches usually taught in such Institutions as entitle him to that distinction," one student was graduated in 1854 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts—the first such degree conferred by Westminster College.¹⁶² Two years later the first class,

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Act of March 26, 1859, *ibid.*, 1859, p. 261.

¹⁵⁸ Westminster College, Minutes of Trustees, I, March 3, 1852, pp. 2-3; Westminster College, *Catalogue* (1853-54), 18. Ferguson, *Westminster College*, 10, claims the college opened on the third Monday of April (April 19, 1852); W. N. Aiken, "Westminster College," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 346, sets the opening date as April 26, 1852, making it the fourth Monday in April.

¹⁵⁹ Westminster College, Minutes of Trustees, I, September 8, 1852, p. 9.

¹⁶⁰ Westminster College, *Catalogue* (1853-54), 16-17.

¹⁶¹ Westminster College, Minutes of Trustees, I, March 25, November 22, 1853, pp. 19, 26; Westminster College, *Catalogue* (1853-54), 13.

¹⁶² Westminster College, Minutes of Trustees, I, March 28, 1854, pp. 29-30.

consisting of five men, was awarded the same degree; and in 1857, of eleven graduated with the Bachelor of Arts degree, one was a woman.¹⁶³

9. LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

Regarded as the oldest institution in the world devoted to the higher education of Negroes,¹⁶⁴ Lincoln University as Ashmun Institute took its first step towards life in a resolution adopted by the Presbytery of New Castle, Delaware, October 5, 1853. Moved by the needs "of the many Christian congregations of coloured people in this country which are unable to secure educated ministers of their own colour"; the lack of "educated men amongst them to fill the place of teachers and other responsible situations"; the wants of Liberia and "the vast missionary work yet to be done in Africa, and to be mainly done by persons of African descent"; and "considering how extremely difficult it is for coloured youth to obtain a liberal education in this land, arising from the want of schools for that purpose, and their exclusion from all regular institutions of learning of a higher grade," the presbytery unanimously resolved to establish within their bounds and under their supervision "an Institution, to be called *the Ashmun Institute*, for the scientific, classical, and theological education of coloured youth of the male sex."¹⁶⁵

The following month the board of trustees appointed by the presbytery met to petition the legislature for a charter.¹⁶⁶ A charter was granted on April 29, 1854, establishing an institution of learning "for the scientific, classical and theological education of colored youth of the male sex," under the title of the "Ashmun institute." The charter provided for a board of trustees of nine members with the right of perpetual succession. Vacancies in the board were to be filled by persons elected by the Presbytery of New Castle. The trustees were empowered "to confer such literary degrees and academic honors as are usually granted by colleges. . . ." Negro pupils of the "male sex

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1856, p. 61; July 1, 1857, p. 73.

¹⁶⁴ Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, April 23, 1953; New York *Times*, May 9, 1954.

¹⁶⁵ Records of the New Castle Presbytery, VIII (1845-63), 173-74, preserved in Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia; Carter G. Woodson in *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (Washington, D. C., 1915), 257, asserts that "The more liberal colonizationists endeavored to furnish free persons of color the facilities for higher education with the hope that their enlightenment would make them so discontented with this country that they would emigrate to Liberia."

¹⁶⁶ Ashmun Institute, Minutes of Trustees, I, November 14, 1853, p. 5, preserved in the records of Lincoln University, at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

of all religious denominations" were eligible for admission to the institution.¹⁶⁷

For the first three years of their constituted existence as a board, the trustees occupied themselves with the raising of funds and the erection of buildings.¹⁶⁸ It was not until October, 1856, that the first president of the institute, the Reverend J. P. Carter, was elected; and shortly afterwards (January 1, 1857) the school was opened with two students in the theological class.¹⁶⁹ Student enrollment continued to remain small. From the opening of the school in 1857 to June, 1859, but ten students had entered the institute;¹⁷⁰ and throughout the nine years of its scholastic life as Ashmun Institute no more than thirty students had enjoyed its instruction.¹⁷¹

During this formative period there was neither a fixed curriculum nor an organized system of classes. The school operated with but one professor (the president) and a tutor elected in 1862.¹⁷² No student had graduated; nor do the minutes of the trustees or other records of the university record the granting of any degrees, either in course or honorary.¹⁷³ The institution labored under a twofold handicap: As a pioneer in an unexplored field it had to find solutions for problems for which no precedent existed; secondly, it was being created at a time of civil conflict when the energies, the resources, and the concerns of the people were directed first towards the waging of war, and later towards the tasks of reconstruction. These obstacles to the school's growth manifested themselves educationally in the students' lack of adequate preparation for pursuing a college course and financially in the thwarted efforts of the trustees to raise an endowment for the college "on a scale commensurate with the expenses required and likely to be required by the urgent necessities of the colored race, and their eagerness to obtain an education in our college."¹⁷⁴

The meagerness of the students' previous training was so marked as to be a matter of special concern of the faculty and was reflected in their first annual report to the trustees. They declared that "the new

¹⁶⁷ Act of April 29, 1854, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1854*, p. 531.

¹⁶⁸ Ashmun Institute, Minutes of Trustees, I, November 14, 1853, p. 5; January 9, March —, April 5, 1854, pp. 6, 7; April 23, 1855, p. 10.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1856, p. 12; entry by President Carter, June 20, 1859, p. 13.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1859, p. 14.

¹⁷¹ Edward Webb, *Lincoln University, Pennsylvania: Its History and Work* (n.p., n.d.), 7.

¹⁷² Ashmun Institute, Minutes of Trustees, I, December 11, 1862, p. 26.

¹⁷³ See also Webb, *Lincoln University*, 7.

¹⁷⁴ Ashmun Institute, Minutes of Trustees, I, November 1, 1864, pp. 32-34.

admissions were so deficient in the elementary parts of an English education" that the faculty felt obliged to remedy this lack before attempting to carry out the original design of the institution. Only a few students "whose previous training made it possible were introduced to the study of Latin."¹⁷⁵

Similarly, the trustees encountered serious obstacles in their attempts to provide sufficient funds for carrying out the purposes of the school. Two years after their adoption of a resolution to obtain an endowment for the Ashmun Institute¹⁷⁶ and shortly after the close of the Civil War, the committee appointed for the procuring of an endowment reported "their want of success" because of "the difficulties which have thus far prevented the holding of Public meetings in behalf of the University, in the cities of Philadelphia, New York & Boston."¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, the destitute state of most of the students placed an added burden on the trustees. They were forced to provide not only for the tuition of the students but for their physical maintenance as well.¹⁷⁸ Nor did the weight of this burden diminish during the ensuing years. In 1869, pressed by want of funds, the trustees requested their executive committee "to consider the propriety of the principle of affording only one half the support of students as a rule."¹⁷⁹

Influenced possibly by the power of Lincoln's name to attract students and funds to the institution, the trustees resolved to apply for a charter amendment to change the corporate name to Lincoln University and to petition for a legislative appropriation of \$25,000.¹⁸⁰ The legislature in 1866 reacted favorably to the petition requesting a change of name and enlarged the powers of the trustees to include the conferring of "all such literary degrees, and academic honors and titles, as are usually conferred by university corporations."¹⁸¹ It did not however, make any appropriation to Lincoln University.

The granting of the university charter marked the beginning of a new life for the institution. For the first time a three-year graded course of instruction leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree was instituted. A college preparatory course, whose studies were to be completed in one

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, June 21, 1866, p. 58.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, November 1, 1864, p. 33.

¹⁷⁷ Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees, I, November 27, 1866, p. 55, preserved in the records of the university at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, September 5, 1867, pp. 72-73.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1869, p. 103.

¹⁸⁰ Ashmun Institute, Minutes of Trustees, I, February 7, 1866, p. 48.

¹⁸¹ Act of April 4, 1866, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1866*, p. 452.

year, and an "irregular" theological course for "those who have not passed through a classical and scientific training" were also offered.¹⁸² Evidently, the results of this curricular experiment were highly satisfactory. Two years after its inception, the faculty expressed pleasure with the outcome of the student examinations and concluded that "The capacity of our Colored population to receive the highest intellectual and moral culture is no longer a matter of experiment."¹⁸³ Furthermore, one student, having completed the college course to the satisfaction of the faculty and trustees, was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts in course (1868), the first such degree to be conferred by Lincoln University.¹⁸⁴

Encouraged by the demonstrated capacity of the students to pursue a full college course, the university inaugurated a four-year arts curriculum.¹⁸⁵ On the basis of their having completed this four-year curriculum, ten men in 1870 received the A.B. degree. These men constituted the first regular graduating class of Lincoln University.¹⁸⁶

Imbued with the twofold purpose of creating a university in fact as well as in name and of providing for the higher educational needs of Negroes both culturally and professionally, the faculty and trustees inaugurated a teacher training course in 1868,¹⁸⁷ a business course in 1870,¹⁸⁸ and law and medical departments, also in 1870.¹⁸⁹ With the institution of these new departments the university now offered to provide training in liberal arts, theology, law, medicine, teacher training, business, and college preparatory courses.

¹⁸² Lincoln University, *Catalogue* (1865-66), 7-9, 11.

¹⁸³ Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 17, 1868, p. 85; J. N. Rendall, "Report of the President of Lincoln University," *PRSCS*, 1871, p. 367.

¹⁸⁴ Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 17, 1868, p. 76.

¹⁸⁵ Lincoln University, *Catalogue* (1867-68), 17-18.

¹⁸⁶ Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 14, 1870, p. 116; *PRSCS*, 1870, p. 61.

¹⁸⁷ Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 17, 1868, pp. 84-85; June 14, 1870, p. 108; Lincoln University, *Catalogue* (1867-68), 18; *ibid.* (1869-70), 19. For a more complete discussion, see chapter on teacher training, *infra*, 521.

¹⁸⁸ Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 14, 1870, p. 108; Lincoln University, *Catalogue* (1869-70), 19.

¹⁸⁹ Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 14, 1870, pp. 109-10; Lincoln University, *Catalogue* (1868-69), 19; *ibid.* (1869-70), 20-21; Rendall, "Report of the President of Lincoln University," *PRSCS*, 1871, p. 366; United States, *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1870-1871*, pp. 662-63, 664-65. These reports are cited hereafter as *USRCE* with the appropriate year. A more detailed discussion of what proved to be an abortive attempt to establish law and medical departments is contained in the chapters devoted to these professions, *infra*, 391-92, 446.

Despite its devotion to the object of providing higher education for Negroes,¹⁹⁰ the university for the first seventy-five years of its existence as a school, appointed no Negro to full faculty membership. True, Negroes had served occasionally as tutors or instructors;¹⁹¹ such appointees, however, did not enjoy faculty status and had neither representation in the standing committees of the faculty nor vote in faculty meetings. As early as 1875, and periodically thereafter, the alumni association repeatedly petitioned the trustees to appoint Negroes to the faculty.¹⁹² It was not until 1931 that the trustees were won over to the idea and appointed Joseph Newton Hill, a graduate of the university, "to a professorship in English in Lincoln University to assume his duties July 1, 1932."¹⁹³

A similar situation obtained with respect to the presidency of the institution. The unwillingness of the trustees to appoint men other than those of the white race to the office of president led, on at least one occasion, to strained race relations and to recriminatory charges. Rejecting the recommendation of the alumni, the trustees in 1926 elected the Reverend Walter B. Greenway, D.D., as president of the university.¹⁹⁴ From the point of view of harmonious race relations, this was an unfortunate choice; for Greenway was suspected of being a Ku Klux Klan sympathizer. He criticised the edict of Mayor W. Freeland Kendrick of Philadelphia prohibiting the Ku Klux Klan from holding a parade in connection with the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition. In a sermon preached June 27, 1926, he declared: "If I were a Klansman, you bet I'd march."¹⁹⁵ At a second meeting, following the sermon, he was quoted as asking, "Where are we Americans? Are we going to be sold out?"¹⁹⁶ The alumni association advised against his accepting the presidency, warning him that "You will meet the hostile opposition of the Lincoln University Alumni Association, the violent attacks of the Negro Race, and the lack of support of many

¹⁹⁰ White students have also attended and graduated from the university. For a list of such students extending from 1874 to the present, see "List of White Students Who Attended Lincoln University," in the records of the Dean's office.

¹⁹¹ Ashmun Institute, Minutes of Trustees, I, December 11, 1862, p. 26; interview with Dean Joseph Newton Hill, April 23, 1952.

¹⁹² Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees, II, June 2, 1875, p. 10; June 6, 1876, pp. 29-30; April 28, June 5, 1888, pp. 239-40, 248; V, September 9, 1926, p. 141; February 4, 1931, p. 219.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, May 6, 1931, p. 220.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, June 23, 1926, p. 140; Lincoln University Alumni Association to Board of Trustees, June 15, 1926, filed with records in vault at Lincoln University.

¹⁹⁵ Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, June 28, 1926.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*; Baltimore *Afro-American*, July 10, 1926.

white friends of Negro Education.”¹⁹⁷ Greenway’s rejection of the position, according to the *Oxford News*, was stimulated largely by a telegram from the alumni “hot enough to blister anything but an old time trustee.”¹⁹⁸

Whether the eventual decision of the trustees to appoint a Negro to the presidency of the university was influenced by the unhappy experiences of 1926, or whether it reflected a change in the attitude of society generally toward the Negro, is a matter of conjecture. By 1945, they were apparently ready to disregard race as a qualifying factor and to base their choice on merit and competency alone. After examining the qualifications of Horace Mann Bond, “as well as the qualifications of several other candidates,” the trustees unanimously elected Dr. Bond as the first Negro president of Lincoln University.¹⁹⁹

The future course of the university, in consonance with the changing spirit of the times, has recently been oriented in the direction of changing the policy of the institution from one concerned with the higher education of Negroes to one envisioning “an interracial student body, an interracial Faculty and an interracial Board of Trustees.”²⁰⁰ According to a report in 1954, the university was intending to transform itself into an international institution, drawing “its faculty and students from every continent and, if possible, from every nation.”²⁰¹

10. KITTANNING UNIVERSITY, LATER COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

A liberal and comprehensive charter was approved by the legislature on March 18, 1858, establishing the University of Kittanning in the borough of Kittanning, Armstrong County, “for the encouragement, promotion, cultivation and diffusion of the liberal arts and sciences, literature, law and medicine”; for the prosecution of which the institution was “to embrace the departments of a university, grammar school, a faculty of science and letters, a faculty of law, a faculty of medicine, and an agricultural school . . . and whatever other department may be deemed appropriate or necessary for such an institution. . . .” The act of incorporation provided for a “Chancellor of the University,” who joined with the faculties of the various departments to constitute a “senatus academicus” with the power of conferring such degrees, in

¹⁹⁷ *New York Age*, July 17, 1926.

¹⁹⁸ *Oxford (Pa.) News*, July 7, 1926.

¹⁹⁹ *Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees*, V, June 20, 1945, p. 390.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, VI, May 10, 1950, p. 454; interview with Dr. Horace Mann Bond, April 22, 1952; *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, April 23, 1953.

²⁰¹ *New York Times*, May 9, 1954.

course and honorary, as were usually granted by other universities. Further, the charter specifically decreed that the holders of the university's degree of Bachelor of Laws were to be entitled to the same privileges in the courts of law and equity as were enjoyed by the possessors of a similar degree from the University of Pennsylvania.²⁰²

Virtually nothing of significance that could be contained in a university charter was overlooked. Provision was made for its material support by granting permission to transfer the property and funds of Kittanning Academy to the new institution upon subscription of \$10,000 (\$3,000 of which was to be paid in before transfer) to the funds of the university.²⁰³ To dispel any possible doubt as to the university's right to extend its educational privileges to women, the legislature in 1861 enacted a supplement to the charter authorizing the creation of a "Young Ladies' collegiate institute."²⁰⁴

Yet this document of broad scope and purpose failed of concrete realization. The university never drew the breath of life.²⁰⁵ For ten years it had naught but paper existence until an attempt was made to give it vital substance by changing its name and by transferring control to the Presbyterians.

By act of legislature (1868) the University of Kittanning became Columbia University. The corporation was transformed into a capital stock company managed by a board of trustees, a majority of whom must forever be members of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. A senate, consisting of designated members of the faculty, principal administrative officers, and the trustees, was provided for, empowered to confer all degrees, in course and honorary, including the degree of civil engineer. Residence at the university was not essential, according to the charter, to the acquiring of a degree. Regardless of the nature or source of their training, students who passed the examinations and paid the required fees were to "be entitled to receive such degree or degrees and honors as if they were resident students of any school, hall or department" of the university.²⁰⁶

An ambitious program of studies was announced. There were four departments: the first, consisting of languages, offered instruction in

²⁰² Act of March 18, 1858, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1858*, p. 127.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ Act of May 1, 1861, *ibid.*, 1861, p. 627.

²⁰⁵ D. H. Sloan (ed.), *A History of the Presbytery of Kittanning, of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America with Its Churches and Schools* (Pittsburgh, 1888), 375; A. D. Glenn, "Columbia University," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 34.

²⁰⁶ Act of March 13, 1868, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1868*, p. 305.

English, Latin, Greek, French, German, and Spanish; the second was the department of science; the third, the department of philosophy; and the fourth, the department of jurisprudence.²⁰⁷ The university had an apparently auspicious start. Its enrollment for the first term, extending from May to September, 1868, included fifty-six men and fifty-eight women.²⁰⁸

The promise of such a good beginning was not destined to be fulfilled. Columbia University after its initial session experienced a decline in patronage.²⁰⁹ In a futile effort to save the institution, the trustees proposed (1869) to the board of Washington and Jefferson College that the two schools be united and located at Kittanning. They pledged themselves to increase the endowment of the new institution by \$100,000 and to erect the necessary buildings.²¹⁰ Nothing came of the offer. Without buildings of its own, without an endowment, and without sufficient funds to meet the necessary expenses, the university held its final session with an enrollment of sixteen men and seventeen women, and it permanently closed its doors in the spring of 1870.²¹¹

11. GENEVA COLLEGE

Of the liberal arts colleges now extant in Pennsylvania, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, is unique in that it had its origins beyond the geographic boundaries of the State. Founded as Geneva Hall by the Reformed Presbytery of the Lakes in April, 1848, and located in Logan County, Ohio, the college was chartered with the right to confer degrees by the legislature of Ohio on March 7, 1850.²¹²

²⁰⁷ Glenn, "Columbia University," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 34.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*; Robert W. Smith, *History of Armstrong County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1883), 134.

²⁰⁹ Samuel Murphy, "Armstrong County. III. Educational Work Done by Other Agencies," *PRSCS*, 1870, p. 15; Glenn, "Columbia University," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 34; *Armstrong County, Pennsylvania: Her People, Past and Present*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1914), I, 113.

²¹⁰ William Gates, secretary, Trustees of Columbia University (Kittanning, Pa.) to C. C. Beatty, president, Trustees of Washington and Jefferson College, March 23, 1869, in Historical Collections, Washington and Jefferson College Library.

²¹¹ Sloan (ed.), *Presbytery of Kittanning*, 375; Glenn, "Columbia University," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 34.

²¹² William M. Glasgow, *The Geneva Book, Comprising a History of Geneva College and a Biographical Catalogue of the Alumni and Many Students* (Philadelphia, 1908), 17-19, 23; William M. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* (Baltimore, 1888), 755-56; William P. Johnston, "Geneva College," in College and University Council, "Biennial Report of Higher Education in Pennsylvania," *PRSPI*, 1900, II, 619.

The following year, after the receipt of the charter, the trustees authorized the faculty to formulate and to publish a course of study.²¹³ A four-year graded course for the collegiate department represented the fruit of their efforts.²¹⁴ For the first eight years of its uncertain existence the institution scarcely emerged from its original, inchoate state. No fewer than eight men had been elected to the presidency of Geneva Hall during the period extending from 1850 to 1857, and all had either declined the office or resigned after serving but a brief term.²¹⁵ Small student enrollments, lack of funds and the unwillingness of its subscribers to pay even those monies that they had promised, and "strife among the brethren"²¹⁶ resulted in the disruption of the college in 1858²¹⁷ and the closing of its doors at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861.²¹⁸ During this entire period no more than fourteen students had completed the prescribed course of study, or at least that portion of it deemed sufficient by the faculty to warrant their being classed as graduates of the institution.²¹⁹

Although the college reopened September 10, 1872,²²⁰ agitation for its removal by the eastern adherents of the church and the offer of ten acres of ground and \$20,000 for the erection of a building by citizens of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, induced the synod to move the institution to that place in September, 1880.²²¹ For three years the college operated under its Ohio charter, but in 1883 the Court of Common Pleas of Beaver County granted a new charter creating a corporation for the "higher Christian education" of "young people of both sexes," with the power to confer degrees "according to the usual manner of colleges in the United States," with the college to be under the control of members in good standing of the Reformed

²¹³ Geneva Hall, Minutes of Trustees, April 29, September 2, 1851, in Glasgow, *Geneva Book*, 35-36. This volume contains the existing recorded minutes of the trustees of Geneva Hall from June 10, 1850, to July 7, 1859, inclusive.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

²¹⁵ Geneva Hall, Minutes of Trustees, July 4, September 17, 1850; September 2, 1851; December 10, 1855; April 26, 1856; July 11, 28, August 11, 1857, *ibid.*, 28 ff.

²¹⁶ Geneva Hall, Minutes of Trustees, March 27, 1851; March 24, 1852; July 11, 1857; September 4, 1858, *ibid.*, 33, 37, 55, 59; *ibid.*, 68.

²¹⁷ Della Robb, "History of the Alumni," *The College Cabinet* (Geneva College), VI (September, 1883), 2.

²¹⁸ Glasgow, *Geneva Book*, 76.

²¹⁹ Geneva College, *Catalogue*, (1878-80), 4.

²²⁰ Glasgow, *Geneva Book*, 85; Geneva College, *Catalogue* (1872-73), 11; Robb, "History of the Alumni," *College Cabinet*, VI, 2.

²²¹ Geneva College, *Catalogue* (1878-80), 5, 23; Glasgow, *Geneva Book*, 87-88, 96.

Presbyterian Church of North America.²²² Under this charter, with its subsequent amendments,²²³ the college continues to function to the present day.

12. GROVE CITY COLLEGE

From 1858 various private attempts were made to provide education of a secondary nature for the children of the town of Pine Grove (now Grove City), Mercer County, Pennsylvania.²²⁴ Grove City College traces its origins to an institution produced by one of the latest of these efforts, Pine Grove Normal Academy, which opened its doors for instruction on April 11, 1876.²²⁵ Three years after its establishment, the academy was chartered as a stock company by the Mercer County Court of Common Pleas. Although the charter specifically limited the trustees to the awarding of certificates and diplomas,²²⁶ they announced their intention to award the Bachelor of Science degree to the graduates of the "Teachers' Scientific Course," and they did in fact confer such degrees upon the graduating classes of June 1881, 1882, 1883, and 1884.²²⁷

For the purpose of accommodating the "very many young men and women who desire to take a course of study leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in this Institution," the trustees in 1884 obtained an amendment to their charter changing the name of the institution to Grove City College and providing the power of awarding degrees.²²⁸ At the same time they published a "Classical Course of Study" leading to the A.B. degree.²²⁹

Perhaps some idea of the institution's collegiate status and the nature of its academic offerings may be ascertained from a self-evaluatory statement made by the college administrators in 1910. After more than twenty-five years of the institution's existence as a college the trustees proclaimed that: "Graduates of Grove City College have

²²² Beaver County, Charter Book, No. 1, 329-34 (June 18, 1883), Courthouse, Beaver.

²²³ *Ibid.*, No. 11, 264-77 (October 11, 1923).

²²⁴ Pine Grove Normal Academy, *Catalogue* (1876-77), 9.

²²⁵ Grove City College, *A Historical Sketch, with Charter and By-Laws* (Grove City, 1895), 1-2; *USRCE, 1885-1886*, pp. 504-505.

²²⁶ Mercer County, Charter Book, No. 1, pp. 260 ff. (April 7, 1879), Courthouse, Mercer.

²²⁷ Pine Grove Academy, *Catalogue* (1880-81), 38; *ibid.*, (1881-82), 6-7, 30; Grove City College, *Catalogue* (1885-86), 6-7; Grove City College, *Historical Sketch*, 3.

²²⁸ Pine Grove Academy, *Catalogue* (1883-84), 5; Mercer County, Corporation Book, I, 512 (November 21, 1884), Courthouse, Mercer.

²²⁹ Pine Grove Academy, *Catalogue* (1881-82), 6-7.

no difficulty in entering the Senior class in the Eastern universities, and taking a degree from Eastern institutions in one year."²³⁰

Although from the outset the school professed an undenominational character and a charter amendment of 1884 authorized the corporation to "establish and maintain an undenominational but evangelical Christian school or college,"²³¹ the Presbyterian orientation of the institution was early manifested and became increasingly more pronounced with the passing years. Its first catalogue proclaimed the holding of prayer meeting twice a week at the Presbyterian church.²³² In 1887 the college's student Missionary Society agreed "to give one-third support to each of three missionaries, representing respectively the Methodist, Presbyterian and United Presbyterian Churches," and it had already pledged \$250 annually for ten years to the United Presbyterian Seminary of Allegheny, Pennsylvania, for the support of a foreign missionary of their own selection.²³³

By 1911, so close were the relations between the college and the Presbyterian church, the trustees felt free to petition the College Board of the Presbyterian Church of America for \$1,500.²³⁴ A few months following the petition for aid, a representative of the Presbyterian College Board appeared at a meeting of the trustees, praised the work done by the college and stated that "it was one of the most productive colleges for the interests of the Presbyterian Church of America."²³⁵

In 1916 the college trustees passed a resolution thanking the Synod of Pennsylvania of the Presbyterian Church for its endowment of \$50,000 for a chair in the Bible.²³⁶ Two years later they authorized the "President of the Corporation" to accept from "The College Board of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, the sum of the annual income of Five Thousand (\$5000) of the John C. Martin Foundation Trust Fund of the College Board for the maintenance of the Bible Chair in said College." At the same meeting the trustees agreed to the conditions for the acceptance of an endowment of \$25,000 for the chair of the Bible under the will of Samuel P. Harbison, among

²³⁰ Grove City College, *Catalogue* (1909-10), ii.

²³¹ Pine Grove Academy, *Catalogue* (1876-77), 11; Grove City College, *Catalogue* (1884-85) 5; Mercer County, Corporation Book, II, 98-99 (December 10, 1884).

²³² Pine Grove Academy, *Catalogue* (1876-77), 11.

²³³ Grove City College, *Catalogue* (1888-89), 42-43.

²³⁴ Grove City College, Minutes of Trustees, I, November 21, 1911, p. 19. Minutes of the trustees earlier than October 5, 1910, are missing. Existing minutes are preserved at the college in Grove City, Pennsylvania.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, January 16, 1912, p. 19.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, January 18, 1916, p. 99.

which was the stipulation that Grove City College be under Presbyterian approval.²³⁷ Finally, in 1944 the board of trustees, "having given consideration to the standards for colleges adopted by the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church," affirmed its traditional loyalty to evangelical Christianity, expressed its appreciation of the interest and support of the Presbyterian church and its work, and found "that in spirit and practice it is in harmony with the standards adopted by the Board of Christian Education and pledges its loyalty to them subject only to charter limitations."²³⁸

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, February 1, 1918, pp. 141-42.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, May 19, 1944, p. 319.

CHAPTER V

The German Church People

THERE has been a good deal of misinformation, polemics, and apologetics in the various accounts describing the attitude of Colonial Pennsylvania Germans towards education. Provost William Smith in 1753 spoke of them as being "utterly ignorant."¹ Franklin said of them that "Those who come hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation. . . ."² As late as 1786 Charles Nisbet, the first president of Dickinson College, observed that "The national frugality and industry of the Germans render them the most thriving inhabitants of this State, but their ignorance and superstition are much against them."³ Diametrically opposed to these is Martin Brumbaugh, who insists that "In discussing education among the Pennsylvania Germans, one is impressed with the fact that the great ignorance imputed to them by writers of history belongs more justly to the writers themselves. It is little less than criminal to say that the early Germans of Pennsylvania were either ignorant or opposed to education."⁴

The misconceptions and the misunderstandings arise from the tendency to lump all Germans into one mold, to regard them as a unified entity without clearly defined political, religious, and educational differences. These misunderstandings were heightened, as will appear subsequently, by the attempt to make the charity school movement an instrument of political power and by the misconstruing of the German rejection of its political aims as a rejection of education. In their educational as well as their religious philosophies, the Colonial Germans may be divided into two groups: the organized church people who adhered to either the Reformed or the Lutheran churches, and the separatists who disassociated themselves from both of these. There was some similarity of attitude between the two groups with respect

¹ Horace W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1879), I, 36.

² Jared Sparks (ed.), *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1836-1840), VII, 71.

³ Miller, *Nisbet*, 144.

⁴ Brumbaugh, *Educational Struggle*, 4.

to elementary education, but a wide cleavage separated them in their approach to secondary and higher education.⁵

1. BACKGROUND

German Reformed. Prior to 1725 there was no organized service for the members of the Reformed church in Pennsylvania. In his report to the Reformed synods in Holland, July 8, 1744, the Reverend John P. Boehm stated: "the Reformed people at Falkner Swamp, Skippack and Whitemarsh . . . [were] as wandering sheep having no shepherd, which was very distressing to observe." After much urging from the scattered flock, Mr. Boehm succumbed to their entreaties "and there communed for the first time on October 15, 1725, at Falkner Swamp 40 members; in November, at Skippack, 37 members; on December 23, at Whitemarsh, 24 members."⁶

It was not until 1747, however, after the arrival of Michael Schlatter, that a "coetus" was established. This differed from a synod in that its actions and deliberations were subject to review and revision by the "Fathers" in Holland. It was permitted no independence of action; it was not even allowed the right of ordination; and its minutes had to be submitted to the Synod of Holland. So tight was the synodical control that the coetus was required to conduct its correspondence in Latin or Dutch, which led one of the secretaries of the coetus to complain, "it is difficult in writing to have to choose between a language which one has forgotten and another which one has never properly learned."⁷ Nor were the bonds that tied the coetus to the Synod of Holland severed until 1791, when "It was resolved that the Coetus has a right at all times, to examine and ordain those who offer themselves as candidates for the ministry, without asking or waiting for permission to do so from the Fathers in Holland."⁸

The burden of maintaining organic unity with the church across the sea was a heavy one. This was particularly manifest in the thwarted attempts of the coetus to supply the increasing demands for ministers. The Reformed church insisted upon a trained and educated clergy. Yet the church "Fathers" opposed or withheld their support from any effort of the local coetus to establish a college or seminary for the training of ministers. When the Coetus of New York and New Jersey

⁵ Bittinger, *German Religious Life*, 24; Knauss, *Social Conditions*, 86.

⁶ *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, 17-18.

⁷ Joseph H. Dubbs, "The Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, XVII (1893), 256-58.

⁸ *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, 446 n.

requested their aid in 1767 in establishing a college at New Brunswick, New Jersey, they reported to the synod, with a great deal of trepidation, their desire to support the new project:

Regarding the erection of a College, we can still less refuse to aid them in this enterprise, as much as lies within our power, since we have for a long time already perceived the usefulness of and necessity for such an institution; as it would be much better if we could sometimes educate a capable person here in this country, thereby sooner to be in condition to help the poor, lonely, and widely separated congregations, and not be compelled, at the cost of the Reverend Fathers, to have all our ministers come from Germany. . . . We trust that the Reverend Fathers will not disapprove of our action regarding this, nor interpret it in such a way, as if the same had for its object a separation from them, for this is by no means our aim.⁹

The following year, 1768, the coetus informed the Synod of Holland that it had rejected closer union with the Coetus of New York and New Jersey as "entirely incompatible with our manifold union with the Reverend Fathers." But this by no means deterred them from resolving, "That the College also on our part will be commended to the Christian and paternal protection of your Reverences, in which alone we can join hands." Again in 1772, pressed by the churches of New Jersey and New York to support the newly founded Queens College at New Brunswick, the coetus "Resolved: That, whereas there is nothing improper in this request, and the founding of this institution is right and for the welfare of the public, therefore the request . . . be immediately granted."¹⁰

The struggle of the Pennsylvania Coetus to establish a theological seminary continued. Ministers sent from abroad were proving unsatisfactory and the necessary permission and funds to establish a school here were not yet forthcoming. In 1784 the coetal letter to the "Fathers" in Holland pointed up these problems and spoke of the necessity of preparing "young men . . . for the ministry here in this country."¹¹ Persisting in their efforts, the following year (1785) they outlined in detail their reasons for desiring a local seminary for the training of ministers. At the same time they protested the tendency of the Synod of Holland to identify this desire as a wish to sever the organic ties

⁹ *Ibid.*, 255-57.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 263, 327-28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 392.

which bound them together. They insisted that the following constituted their motives for wanting to establish a school in Pennsylvania:

1. Although the Reverend Fathers in sending the ministers not only have great trouble, but also great expense, yet some of the ministers prove failures. . . .

2. Many young men in this country, who have great ability, would like to devote themselves to the service of the Church, if they only had an opportunity, and many inhabitants have for some time had a greater confidence in natives than in foreigners who just arrived, because they have several times fared badly.

3. The English, who are here, are now establishing a second school in Carlisle, for which purpose they, at our last Coetus, desired our assistance, and also some Reformed teachers. Since we had reasons to fear that this might tend to suppress the German language and even our nationality, and might be to the disadvantage of our religion, for they might accept a Reformed teacher only as a matter of form, we excused ourselves on the ground of our inability.

They pointed out that two teachers are required for such a school and that the salaries of only two would be "far beyond our ability if we are not generously supported by contributions from the outside." They concluded their plea by asserting that "This project does not at all aim at our separation from the Reverend Fathers."¹²

With unusual brevity, the members of the coetus reported what must have been for them a momentous occasion, "the dedication of our German High School [Franklin College, June 6, 1787], founded by our esteemed Assembly. . . ."¹³ This reticence was again evident the following year (1788) when the secretary of the coetus in his report to the Synod of Holland enclosed a copy of the charter of the college and tersely stated: "I have nothing further to report than that the institution, since its solemn dedication, on June 6, 1787 (a printed account of which I likewise submit), has made quite favorable progress under its present teachers and professors, of whom Do. Hendel is vice-principal."¹⁴ No mention was made of the institution in the report of the coetus of 1789. Apparently pressed by Holland for a more comprehensive picture of the nature and status of Franklin College and the purpose of the coetus in supporting it, the secretary in 1790 replied:

¹² *Ibid.*, 403-404. See also minutes of 1786, *ibid.*, 409.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 411.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 426.

The Reverend Fathers desire to know the nature and chief purpose of the High School in Lancaster. We duly answer that said school failed a year ago already, because, on account of the general hard times, the professors did not receive their salaries. We, therefore, deem it unnecessary to give to the Reverend Fathers a circumstantial report of this school. However, we must state in this connection that it did not enter into our minds to sever the very important connection with the Reverend Fathers, and that our chief purpose in establishing this school was to have our German youth instructed in such languages and sciences as to qualify them in the future to fill public offices in the Republic, and perhaps hereafter, if this school should continue, to prepare young men for the ministry.¹⁵

Thus the attempts of the German Reformed church to establish a college or theological seminary in provincial Pennsylvania were marked by a history of earnest but unrequited effort. There can be little doubt of their desire for such an institution; but the combined handicaps of foreign control on the one hand and an impecunious state on the other effectively blocked its fulfillment. Not until 1825 was a beginning made toward instituting a theological seminary, and at least another decade was to pass before a college was erected.

Lutheran. Like the Reformed church, the Lutherans desired an educated ministry. Loosely organized in three small congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover, and Providence, they appealed to Dr. August Hermann Francke at Halle for "several able preachers."¹⁶ The arrival of Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg in Pennsylvania in 1748 as the first of several preachers was Francke's answer to this request. Muhlenberg assumed the leadership of the church and was instrumental in organizing the ministerium which held its first convention August 15-26, 1748.¹⁷ Unhampered by foreign control, as was the Reformed church, the Lutheran Ministerium examined candidates for ordination, and its members were recognized by the congregations as "their rightful teachers."¹⁸

Educationally, the requirements for a Lutheran minister in 1770 were confined to a knowledge of theology and the ancient languages. This was evident in the report of the examination for ordination of

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 441.

¹⁶ *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium*, 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3-22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

young Gotthilf Henry Ernst Muhlenberg.¹⁹ The requirements were similar in 1781.²⁰

Although it is probable that Muhlenberg and others early recognized the need for a seminary or training school for preachers, the first mention of their intention to establish such a seminary was made at the twenty-second convention of the ministerium, held June 25-27, 1769. "Concerning a Seminary, which is to be established, it was *resolved*, that each member write out his thoughts concerning the best method, and send them in."²¹ This was not to materialize, however, until Pastor J. C. Kunze at the twenty-sixth convention of the ministerium, held June 12-15, 1773, asked support for a school he had founded. At the same convention, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg gave a possible direction and purpose to Kunze's seminary when he proposed that the institution be devoted to the training of "school teachers, catechists, and country preachers. . . ." The Reverend Ministerium approved Kunze's plan, appointed Friedrich Rohl as procurator, and "went to Zion's Church, because the first public examination of thirteen seminary students was to be held there . . . from 9 to 12 o'clock."²²

Undoubtedly influenced by his close association with his father-in-law, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, Kunze early recognized the need for an institution which would prepare young men for the ministry. When a candidate for the ministry, Johann Christian Leps, proposed that he assist Kunze in the establishment of a Latin school, Kunze composed an advertisement for such a school which appeared in the *Philadelphia Staatsbote* January 12, 1773.²³ For the purpose of establishing a source of continuing support for the proposed seminary, Kunze helped to organize the "Society for the Propagation of Christianity and Useful Knowledge Among the Germans in America," and at its meeting of February 12, 1773, Mr. Leps was chosen as the teacher for the school.²⁴

The school opened February 15, 1773. No particular age limit was set as a requirement for admission, but candidates were expected to have attained some proficiency in reading and writing. The curriculum included the catechism, Latin, geography, history, natural

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 123.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 107, 119.

²² *Ibid.*, 143, 145-46.

²³ Carl F. Haussmann, *Kunze's Seminarium and the Society for the Propagation of Christianity and Useful Knowledge Among the Germans in America* (Philadelphia, 1917), 20-22.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

history, mathematics, letter-writing, and public speaking. If a demand should develop, Greek might be added later. The major time was devoted to Latin, with but little consideration given to mathematics and physics. Kunze undertook to provide instruction in the religious subjects, which included Bible reading in both German and English, the catechism, and ethics.²⁵

It is apparent from the curriculum that something more than a theological seminary was intended since candidates for the Lutheran ministry at this time were examined only in Latin, Hebrew, the Scriptures, and theology.²⁶ This is confirmed by the constitution of the Society for the Propagation of Christianity, in which Kunze not only provided for academic instruction, but indicated that his ultimate purpose was to establish an American Halle with its emphasis on the practical aspects of education.²⁷ Though his primary aim may have been the creation of an institution patterned in the image of Francke's at Halle, the realities of Colonial life and the existence of an already long-established college probably induced him to modify its intended scope. Reviewing the results of the first examination of the students in his Seminarium, Kunze insisted that his institution was not a rival of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, but rather should be considered as a preparatory school whose graduates were to be persuaded to enter the college.²⁸

Support for the Seminarium was obtained through the small contributions of individuals.²⁹ However, these were insufficient to maintain the school, and the lack of financial support proved to be one of its greatest weaknesses.³⁰ The encroachments of the war spelled the doom of the Seminarium. Though the society on February 9, 1777, "*Resolved*, that the school be continued as long as even the slightest means for its maintenance were on hand," the occupation of Philadelphia by the British, September 26, 1777, according to the minute book, "made an end of this institution."³¹

2. COLLEGES OF THE CHURCH GROUPS

Franklin College. With the close of the Revolution and the establishment of the University of the State of Pennsylvania, conditions

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 35-37.

²⁶ *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium*, 123.

²⁷ Haussmann, *Kunze's Seminarium*, 32.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁹ *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium*, 152-53, 191.

³⁰ Haussmann, *Kunze's Seminarium*, 80.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

were more favorable for providing advanced education for the German population. The charter of the new university (November 27, 1779) placed on the board of trustees "the senior minister in standing" of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, "German Calvinist," and "Roman" churches in the city of Philadelphia.³² J. C. Kunze, founder of the Seminarium and representative of the Lutheran church on the board of trustees, proposed that the university adopt measures to attract German students to its instruction.³³ After some discussion, the trustees unanimously agreed "That there be a German Professor of Phylology, whose duty shall be to teach the Latin and Greek Languages, thro' the medium of the German language," and the Reverend John Christopher Kunze was elected to the office.³⁴

Students were attracted to the new department, and their increasing numbers early induced the trustees to appoint a tutor to aid Mr. Kunze.³⁵ By 1785 the number of students had nearly doubled,³⁶ so that the trustees determined to perpetuate the instruction of German by charter provision. Accordingly, a supplement to the charter was obtained (September 22, 1785), which recognized the prior establishment of a professorship with one or more assistant teachers and which provided for the future teaching of "the learned languages through the medium of the German tongue, as a part of the system of education. . . ."³⁷

The German department began to decline in 1787. In a letter to the trustees, the faculty of the university noted that "there are but a few Boys remaining in the German School who are learning to read and write the German Language before they begin to learn the Latin. . . ."³⁸ It has been suggested that the waning patronage and the eventual disappearance of the "school" were attributable to a number of factors: first, "the constant and systematic efforts of the English to anglicize the Germans," with the resulting corresponding fear of the Germans "that they would lose their German characteristics"; second, the subordinate position to which they were reduced in the university;

³² Bioren, *Laws*, II, 223 (Act of November 27, 1779).

³³ Joseph H. Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster, 1903), 8.

³⁴ University of the State of Pennsylvania, Minutes of Trustees, III, January 10, 1780, pp. 38-39; January 26, 1780, p. 43, in Office of the Secretary, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1780, p. 65.

³⁶ Dubbs, *Franklin and Marshall*, 9.

³⁷ Bioren, *Laws*, III, 130 (Act of September 22, 1785).

³⁸ Faculty to Trustees, 1787, University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia.

third, the primarily local character of the school which made it virtually impossible to interest the German people in the country districts in its progress.³⁹ At the same time, a movement had arisen to found a similar institution with a more favorable environment that would be more likely to subserve the interests of the German patrons. It is noteworthy that those connected with the university evidenced interest in, rather than opposition to, the proposed enterprise. Especially was this true of Benjamin Rush, who had played so prominent a role in the founding of Dickinson College.⁴⁰

Aside from its English progenitors, those most active in the promulgation of the plan to establish Franklin College were the German ministers Justus Henrich Christian Helmuth and Gotthilf Heinrich Ernst Muhlenberg of the Lutheran church and Caspar Dietrich Weiberg and Johann Wilhelm Hendel of the German Reformed church.⁴¹ It is, perhaps, significant that the petition to the legislature requesting a charter for the German College and Charity School to be located at Lancaster originated at Philadelphia rather than at Lancaster and was signed exclusively by Philadelphians.⁴²

Presented to the legislature December 11, 1786, the petition was accompanied by a "General Plan of the College," in which were enumerated the advantages of diffusing literature among the German citizens. "The design," said the Plan, "of this institution is to promote an accurate knowledge of the German and English languages, also of the learned languages, of mathematics, morals, and natural philosophy, divinity, and all such other branches of literature as will tend to make good men and useful citizens."⁴³

Only a few months elapsed before the legislature in March, 1787, granted the charter in much the same form as it had been requested. A "college and charity school" was erected in the borough of Lancaster "for the instruction of youth in the German, English, Latin, Greek

³⁹ Dubbs, *Franklin and Marshall*, 11. The first two reasons listed are quoted as the opinions of Dr. Marion D. Learned.

⁴⁰ [Benjamin Rush], "An Address to the Citizens of Pennsylvania, of German Birth and Extraction," *Philadelphia Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 31, 1785; William Hendel to Rush, January 26, 1787, Franklin and Marshall College Archives, Lancaster; Rush to John Dickinson, April 5, 1787, photostat in Franklin and Marshall College Archives.

⁴¹ Dubbs, *Franklin and Marshall*, 15-16; Dubbs, "The Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, XVII, 260-61.

⁴² Dubbs, *Franklin and Marshall*, 17.

⁴³ Petition of Trustees of German College and Charity School to Be Established in Lancaster to Pennsylvania General Assembly, December 11, 1786, Franklin and Marshall College Archives.

and other learned languages, in theology, and in the useful arts sciences and literature. . . ." It derived its name, Franklin College, from "a profound respect for the talents, virtues, and services to mankind in general, but more especially to this country, of his excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, president of the supreme executive council. . . ." ⁴⁴

A board of trustees, not to exceed forty-five in number, was to manage, direct, and govern the college. Thirty of these were to be chosen equally from among members of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, and this numerical equality was forever to remain inviolate. The remainder of the trustees were to be chosen "from any other society of Christians." The faculty, consisting of the principal, vice-principal, and professors of the college, was empowered, with the approbation of the trustees, to grant "such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences . . . as are usually granted and conferred in other colleges in America or Europe. . . ." To maintain a denominational balance similar to the one enjoined upon the trustees, the charter required that the principal of the college be chosen alternately from the Lutheran and Reformed churches, unless the trustees of those religious persuasions should unanimously agree "to elect and appoint two or more persons in succession of the same religious denomination or some suitable person of any other society of Christians." ⁴⁵

Concerned with the education of all ranks of people—ranging from those whose schooling would be confined to the primary subjects to those whose objective would be the acquisition of the more advanced disciplines—the charter provided for "the maintenance and support of a charity school for children of both sexes and all religious denominations. . . ." As an initial endowment for the college, the legislature, by charter decree, set aside ten thousand acres of the unappropriated lands of the State, together with 6 per cent allowance for roads. ⁴⁶

Extensive preparations were made for the formal dedication of the college to be held June 6, 1787. ⁴⁷ Circulars were issued advertising the holding of the first meeting of the board of trustees at Lancaster June 5, 1787, where the officers of the board were to be elected and the faculty chosen, and announcing the program of ceremonies to be

⁴⁴ Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, II, 391 (Act of March 10, 1787).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ H. Helmuth and C. Weiberg to H. Muhlenberg, January 19, 1787, Franklin and Marshall College Archives; Rush to Dickinson, April 5, 1787, photostat in Franklin and Marshall College Archives.

observed at the dedicatory exercises the following day.⁴⁸ Newspaper accounts of the occasion, reputedly written by Benjamin Rush,⁴⁹ extolled the harmony which prevailed among ministers of different denominations of Christians and predicted the beginning of a "new era" in Pennsylvania which would witness the educational elevation of the German people, enabling them "to become the vehicle to our country, of all the discoveries of one of the most learned nations in Europe."⁵⁰

Rush was most optimistic concerning the benefits that would accrue to Pennsylvania as a result of the establishment of Franklin College. At the first meeting of the trustees at Lancaster (June 5, 1787) he stated:

. . . By means of this seminary in the 1st place the partition wall which has long separated the English & German inhabitants of the State will be broken down. . . .

A 2nd advantage that will result from this College will be, it will serve to unite the different Sects of Christians among the Germans together. . . .

3rd By means of this College the *English* language will be introduced among our German fellow citizens. . . .

4th By means of this College the German language will be preserved from extinction & corruption by being taught in a grammatical manner. . . .

5th By means of this College, the sons of the Germans will be qualified to shine in our legislature, & to fill with reputation the professions of law—physic— & divinity. Their ministers of the Gospel & Schoolmasters will no longer be Strangers to their American habits & manners, but will be prepared for immediate Usefulness by an education in this College.⁵¹

The first meeting of the trustees at Lancaster unanimously elected a faculty, described as eminently fitted to fill the various posts with distinction, consisting of: "The Rev. *Henry Muhlenberg* Principal of the College. The Rev. *William Handell* [Hendel] Vice-Principal. The Rev. *Frederick Valentine Miltzeimer* [Melsheimer] Professor of the Latin, Greek and German languages. Mr. *William Reichenbach* Professor of Mathematics. And the Rev. *Joseph Hutchins* Professor of

⁴⁸ *Order of Procession and Public Worship to Be Observed in the Dedication of Franklin College.*

⁴⁹ Dubbs, *Franklin and Marshall*, 46.

⁵⁰ *Philadelphia Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 13, 1787; *Philadelphia Pennsylvania Advertiser*, June 13, 1787.

⁵¹ Rush to Mrs. Richard Stockton, June 19, 1787, Franklin and Marshall College Archives.

the English language, and of the Belles Lettres."⁵² They provided instruction of a secondary nature to more than a hundred students of both sexes in the first year of the institution's existence.⁵³ A large enrollment, however, was not sufficient to offset the disparity between low income and high fixed expenses, and the college was forced to suspend operations after the close of its second year.⁵⁴

Despite the discontinuance of classes, the trustees continued to meet to seek means of procuring the necessary funds for reviving the institution.⁵⁵ Although they failed to open any schools directly under their auspices, they made their building available from time to time for educational purposes, frequently without charge, to various individuals engaged in providing primary and secondary instruction.⁵⁶

Periodic efforts were made by the trustees to resume their educational functions. In 1818, on the basis of a proposal of a combined committee from the Lutheran and German Reformed synods, they agreed on a plan to place the "College into renewed operation."⁵⁷ Apparently the plan failed to materialize. But four years after its promulgation the Committee on Education of the Senate of Pennsylvania reported (March 1, 1822) that Franklin College operated about two years after its inception, "when the trustees found themselves unable to proceed. Since that time, occasionally a Greek and Latin, and sometimes only an English grammar school, has been kept in the buildings belonging to the board of trustees. . . . it does not appear probable, that the institution will be revived, and placed upon the footing contemplated by the act creating it."⁵⁸

In 1832 the trustees voted to give one of the three rooms on the first floor of Franklin College "to the Conductors of the Infant School in the City of Lancaster, for the purpose of the said school until the building may be wanted by the Trustees of the said College."⁵⁹ Three

⁵² Philadelphia *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 13, 1787; Philadelphia *Pennsylvania Advertiser*, June 13, 1787.

⁵³ Franklin College, List of Students in English Department, 1787-88, Franklin and Marshall College Archives.

⁵⁴ Franklin College, Minutes of Trustees, October 22, 1787, pp. 10-11, Franklin and Marshall College Archives; *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, 441; *Hazard's Register*, II (November 29, 1828), 309; Dr. Helmuth to Bishop White, December 4, 1791, University of Pennsylvania Archives.

⁵⁵ Franklin College, Minutes of Trustees, 12 ff.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1810, p. 18; May 17, 1815, p. 21; December 17, 1817, p. 23; March 1, 1832, p. 41. See also Dubbs, *Franklin and Marshall*, 106 ff.

⁵⁷ Franklin College, Minutes of Trustees, November 7, 1818, pp. 23-24.

⁵⁸ *Hazard's Register*, II (November 29, 1828), 309.

⁵⁹ Franklin College, Minutes of Trustees, March 1, 1832, p. 41.

years later the board proposed, without avail, to the General Synod of the German Reformed church that they remove their classical school at York to Lancaster and that the trustees would appoint and elect as principal and assistant of Franklin College those who were then principal and assistant of the York school.⁶⁰

It was not until 1840, after the trustees had purchased the Lancaster County Academy, that the function for which they had been created originally was again resumed, but on a secondary level. An agreement was effected with the trustees of the Lancaster County Academy for the conducting of the school, wherein the academy building was leased to them at a nominal rent, provided that the Franklin College trustees were permitted to concur in the election and dismissal of all teachers and provided that an annual statement of the condition and prospects of the institution be submitted to the college board.⁶¹ By 1844 the academy was under the sole hegemony of the college trustees.⁶² That they had succeeded in some measure in establishing a functioning institution is evidenced by the petition from members of the bar in Lancaster requesting them to appoint a "Professor of Law & Medical Jurisprudence" in Franklin College. This they agreed to do provided "the salary of the Professor is not to be drawn from the funds of this Board."⁶³ Further, they entered into an agreement with the directors of the common schools of Lancaster to provide instruction "from the lowest to the highest department" without charge. This agreement lasted until the close of the academic year 1848-1849.⁶⁴

The termination of the arrangement with the common school directors marked the close of the final chapter of the history of instructional offerings of Franklin College. In December, 1849, proposals were made to unite with Marshall College, or with colleges of "other Christian denominations." A committee was appointed to correspond with the faculties and trustees of Marshall College and Pennsylvania College and to submit a plan of merger with either of them.⁶⁵ Since the trustees of Pennsylvania College manifested no inclination to move their

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, September 23, 1835, p. 44.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, August 7, 14, 1840, pp. 51, 54.

⁶² *Ibid.*, June 7, August 5, 1844, pp. 82-83, 85-86.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, September 7, 1846, pp. 95-96.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, March 2, 1846, pp. 91 ff.; June 21, 1847, p. 100; March 6, June 5, 1848, pp. 105, 107; August 14, 1849, p. 115.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, December 3, 4, 1849, pp. 119-20, 123-24.

institution to Lancaster, the committee's efforts were confined to conversations with Marshall College alone.⁶⁶

A plan of merger was adopted after brief and relatively harmonious negotiations.⁶⁷ However, because of dissatisfaction voiced by the Lutheran members of the board of trustees of Franklin College the terms of unification were revised in February, 1850, to eliminate objectionable features. Under the new arrangement, it was agreed that "one third of the funds & property of Franklin College, to which the Lutheran Church is entitled be retained by the Board, until the German Reformed Church pay over into the Treasury of the Board, an amount equal to the one third or Lutheran interest in the College. . . ." This sum was to be turned over to the trustees of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg for the purpose of establishing a separate professorship of ancient languages at that college, to be styled the Franklin professorship. Further, the sum of \$25,000 was to be required to be paid in current funds by the citizens of Lancaster City and County to a joint committee appointed by both colleges before the union of Franklin and Marshall colleges should take place. Finally, the Lutherans agreed to withdraw any claims of interest in the new combined college.⁶⁸

Shortly after the adoption of the terms of merger, the legislature in April, 1850, passed an act incorporating Franklin and Marshall College.⁶⁹ Two years later the trustees of Franklin College were informed that the agreed upon sum of \$25,000 had been collected and deposited in full in the banks of the city; whereupon the committee on valuation of the property of Franklin College reported the net worth of the college to be "\$51,508 4/100," and the treasurer was directed to pay over to the Lutheran members of the board the sum of "\$17,169 61/100," representing one-third of the appraised value of the property of Franklin College.⁷⁰

At no time in the more than fifty years of its precarious existence did Franklin College fulfill the collegiate function for which it was established. In the first and only catalogue issued by the college, the trustees expressed regret that circumstances prevented their realizing the original design of the charter, noting that sister institutions of

⁶⁶ Dubbs, *Franklin and Marshall*, 139; Franklin College, Minutes of Trustees, December 5, 1849, pp. 126-27.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, January 17, 1850, pp. 134-35.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, February 12, 1850, 139-40.

⁶⁹ Act of April 19, 1850, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1850*, p. 512.

⁷⁰ Franklin College, Minutes of Trustees, December 21, 1852, p. 163.

more recent incorporation "have far outstripped it in the noble employment of educating the rising generation."⁷¹ It offers no occasion for surprise, consequently, to observe that Franklin College failed to utilize its charter-given right to confer degrees. The minutes of the trustees do not record a single instance of the granting of a degree either in course or honorary to any of its graduates or to others.⁷² Even those degrees first conferred by the newly organized Franklin and Marshall College, which opened its doors for instruction in May, 1853, were granted only to students who had completed their work at Marshall College and not to those who may have attended Franklin College.⁷³

The evidence suggests that inadequate financing was a principal factor in preventing Franklin College from achieving collegiate status. It was not, however, the only factor. James P. Wickersham maintains that "the time had not yet come when two strong denominations of Christians, differing in their religious tenets, could cordially unite in the support and management of an educational institution. . . ."⁷⁴ Joseph H. Dubbs supports this contention, and at the same time speculates that if either of the two synods, Lutheran or Reformed, had possessed supreme control, it is probable that deficiencies of income would have been met by special contributions from the churches; as it was, "neither body was properly conscious of its responsibility, and each depended upon the other." He further suggests that the German population of Lancaster County did not favor higher education and that "even the Lutherans and the Reformed were not generally enthusiastic." This lack of interest was aggravated by the warm attachment of the German population to their native tongue and their fear "that the new institution would make the English language more prominent than the German."⁷⁵

Marshall College (now Franklin and Marshall College). Representing the first independent and successful effort of the German

⁷¹ Franklin College, *Catalogue* (October, 1848), 11.

⁷² Franklin College, *Minutes of Trustees*, September 12, 1787, to July 27, 1853, *passim*. See also Dubbs, *Franklin and Marshall*, 75.

⁷³ Franklin and Marshall College, *Minutes of Trustees*, I, March 2, August 30, 1853, pp. 36, 96-97, Franklin and Marshall College Archives.

⁷⁴ Wickersham, *History of Education*, 147.

⁷⁵ J. H. Dubbs, "Franklin and Marshall College," in Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), 419.

Reformed church in Pennsylvania in establishing an institution of collegiate rank, Marshall College had its origins in the classical high school founded in 1832 at York, Pennsylvania, in connection with the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church.⁷⁶ Offers of money, buildings, and lots received in 1834 from the citizens of Mercersburg and Chambersburg in Franklin County induced the synod of the church to consider the possibility of removing the high school and theological seminary from York.⁷⁷ At its meeting in September, 1835, the synod decided to accept the Mercersburg pledge of \$10,000 along with the academy building and lot on which it stood, appointed a board of trustees for the high school with instructions to apply for a collegiate charter, and ordered the transference of the high school and theological seminary to Mercersburg.⁷⁸ The following year the synod recorded the fact "That the Classical Institution was last fall removed to Mercersburg, and opened its winter session under very flattering circumstances."⁷⁹

Shortly after its installation at Mercersburg, the State legislature in March, 1836, elevated the high school of the German Reformed church "into a college, for the education of youth in the learned languages, the arts, sciences and useful literature." The new institution was named Marshall College "In testimony of respect for the exalted character, great worth, and high mental attainments of the late John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States. . . ." A self-perpetuating board of trustees and a faculty were provided for, empowered with the right "to grant and confirm . . . such degrees in the liberal arts, sciences, or such branches thereof . . . as have been usually granted in other colleges or universities. . . ." Apart from the usual professors, Marshall College was to include among its faculty a professor of the German language. Further, the charter stipulated that persons of every religious denomination were to be entitled to election to the board of trustees, to membership in the faculty, and to admission as

⁷⁶ *Inaugurations-Rede des Chrw. Dr. F. A. Rauch* (Lancaster, 1832), 2.

⁷⁷ *Proceedings of the Synod of the German Reformed Church in the United States of America, Held in Pittsburgh, Pa., September 14, 1834* (Easton, 1835), 20-21.

⁷⁸ *Verhandlungen der Synode der Hochdeutschen Reformirten Kirche . . . Gehalten in Chambersburg . . . 1835* (Gettysburg, 1835), 27 ff.

⁷⁹ *Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the German Reformed Church, Convened in Baltimore, Md. . . . the Twenty-second Day of September, 1836* (Chambersburg, 1836), 39.

students. The legislature reserved "the right to revoke, alter or annul the charter at any time" it thought proper.⁸⁰

The trustees held their first meeting under the charter July 12, 1836, and appointed a committee to plan an order of business for the following day.⁸¹ After organizing themselves by the election of officers, the trustees proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for the opening of college classes. A committee was appointed to obtain temporary quarters for the college. A faculty was elected consisting of a "President and Professor of the Hebrew, Greek and German languages and literature" and a "Professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, chemistry and minerology." In all, there were to be four professors, two of whom would be elected at a later date. For the government of the institution, it was decided to adopt the system of laws and regulations of Princeton College so far as they might be applicable to the situation at Marshall College. Provisions for financing the new school were instituted by the appointment of a committee authorized to memorialize the legislature for aid, to appoint fiscal agents, and to make such other arrangements for increasing the funds of the college as they thought most advantageous. Finally, it was decided to open the first session of Marshall College on November 9, 1836.⁸²

Apparently, the preliminary organizational measures adopted proved efficacious. The State Superintendent of Common Schools in his report for the year ending December, 1836, stated that, though the institution had operated only three months under its charter, it already had, because of its friendly relations with the German Reformed church, unusual advantages for so new an institution. Despite the lack of buildings or library, the students made use of the library of the German Reformed church and occupied a building belonging to that church.⁸³ Further, the prospects for the college's financial future augured well. The legislature appropriated \$12,000 to Marshall College, on condition that the college should "cause annually to be instructed gratis twenty students, if that number apply, who shall be citizens or sons of citizens of this state, in the elementary branches of an English education. . . ."⁸⁴ During the same period, the finance

⁸⁰ Act of March 31, 1836, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1835-1836*, p. 290.

⁸¹ Marshall College, Minutes of Trustees, July 12, 1836, p. 9, Franklin and Marshall College Archives.

⁸² *Ibid.*, July 13, 1836, pp. 10 ff.

⁸³ *PRSCS, 1836*, Chart F.

⁸⁴ Act of March 29, 1837, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1836-1837*, p. 96.

committee reported that various individuals had subscribed \$9,697 for the use of the college.⁸⁵

To facilitate the instructional process a third faculty member⁸⁶ was elected in November, 1836. Rules and regulations were adopted respecting the duties of officers and faculty, the deportment of students, and student obligations concerning the course of study.⁸⁷ Finally, a four-year graded curriculum including the requirements for admission was instituted.⁸⁸ Having completed this curriculum, or that portion of it deemed sufficient by the faculty, one student was awarded (September, 1837) the first Bachelor of Arts degree conferred by Marshall College.⁸⁹ A year later, the first full class comprising six students was graduated with the first degree in the arts.⁹⁰

Using student enrollment figures as one criterion, the college progressed on a relatively even keel. The student body increased from 108 in the academic year 1837-1838 to a total of 132 at the close of its final year as an independent institution in 1852.⁹¹

The unification process with Franklin College, begun in 1849 and legalized by the State legislature in 1850,⁹² was formally consummated in 1853.⁹³ Upon this dual foundation there arose a new institution—Franklin and Marshall College.

Westmoreland College. Twenty-five years elapsed after the incorporation of Marshall College before the German Reformed church again attempted the establishment of a post-secondary institution under its jurisdiction. This effort, however, proved to be an abortive one. The demise of the short-lived Mount Pleasant Union College in 1861⁹⁴ presented the church with the opportunity of purchasing buildings that had been specifically erected for educational purposes. As a consequence, the Westmoreland Classis of the German Reformed Church, having acquired the property of Mount Pleasant Union College at Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland County, obtained a charter

⁸⁵ Marshall College, Minutes of Trustees, September 26, 1837, p. 31.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, November 8, 1836, p. 16.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, April 24, 1837, pp. 20-28; *Laws of Marshall College* (n.p., 1837), 1-11.

⁸⁸ Marshall College, *Catalogue* (1837-38), 7-9; *ibid.* (1844-45), 23.

⁸⁹ Marshall College, Minutes of Trustees, September 27, 1837, p. 32.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, September 25, 1838, p. 44.

⁹¹ Marshall College, *Catalogue* (1837-38), 6; *ibid.* (1851-52), 16.

⁹² Marshall College, Minutes of Trustees, December 26, 1849, pp. 168 ff.; Act of April 19, 1850, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1850*, p. 512.

⁹³ Franklin and Marshall College, Minutes of Trustees, I, January 25, 1853, p. 17.

⁹⁴ Act of April 8, 1861, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1861*, p. 252.

from the State legislature on March 12, 1862, erecting "a college for the education of persons in the various branches of the arts, sciences, literature, and the ancient and modern languages, male and female, by the name, style and title of the Westmoreland college."⁹⁵

The charter established a stock company with a maximum stock capitalization not to exceed \$100,000. Two-thirds of the trustees were to be members of the German Reformed church. They, in conjunction with the faculty of the institution, were invested with the power of granting and conferring degrees in the liberal arts and sciences.⁹⁶

At the close of its first academic year (June, 1862), Westmoreland College reported to the Superintendent of Common Schools that eighty students had attended courses and were instructed by a faculty of three professors. The library contained 500 volumes, the scientific and philosophical apparatus were valued at \$250, and the college building and property at \$8,000. Income for the period under consideration had amounted to \$1,600, of which amount \$1,500 had come from tuition fees and \$100 from other sources. Expenditures for the same period exactly balanced the income; \$1,500 had been paid in the form of salary to the professors, and the remaining \$100 had been used to make repairs to the building and to pay the costs of fuel, printing, and janitorial services.⁹⁷

No report was made by the college for the academic year ending June, 1863.⁹⁸ That the college had been in operation and had in fact graduated its first class is evidenced by its report to the State Superintendent of Common Schools for the school year ending in 1864. A total of nine students had been graduated since the inception of the college, four of whom received their degrees in 1864. The number of professors and tutors had risen to five, and the student enrollment had increased by seven over that of 1862. Financially, however, the college's position had worsened rather than improved. Its income, entirely derived from tuition, had amounted to \$1,500, while its expenditures had totalled \$1,610.⁹⁹

By the close of 1867, the last year for which it submitted a report, student enrollment at Westmoreland College had declined to seventy. There were no graduates for this year; and only one student had been

⁹⁵ Act of March 12, 1862, *ibid.*, 1862, p. 119.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *PRSCS*, 1862, pp. 265-66.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 282.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1864, pp. 312-13.

awarded a degree in the preceding year.¹⁰⁰ Nor had any improvement occurred in its financial condition; disbursements exceeded income by \$275, and, aside from tuition fees, no other sources of revenue, like those from invested funds and endowments, had been developed.¹⁰¹ Consequently, it offers small occasion for surprise to note that less than ten years after its incorporation the college was empowered by act of legislature to dispose of its property and to cease functioning as an educational institution.¹⁰²

Mercersburg College. The vacuum created by the removal of Marshall College to Lancaster after its unification with Franklin College induced the Mercersburg Classis of the German Reformed Church, aided by members of the Maryland Classis, to establish "a good Classical school, which would be carried forward under positive and decided religious influence."¹⁰³ A "Board of Control" formed for this purpose was authorized by the Mercersburg Classis to purchase the grounds and buildings of old Marshall College, then in the possession of a proprietary institution operating under the name of Marshall Collegiate Institute.¹⁰⁴ Application for a charter was made to the Court of Common Pleas of Franklin County, and the charter was granted October 30, 1865.¹⁰⁵

According to the charter, the purpose of the newly created corporation was to found "a College for the education of youth in the learned languages, the arts, sciences and useful literature." The new institution was to be known as "Mercersburg College." It was to be managed by a "Board of Regents" invested with the power to issue certificates of stock in shares of \$100 each. The principal and professors, by order and direction of the regents, were granted the right to confer the usual degrees.¹⁰⁶

Mercersburg College began life September 27, 1865,¹⁰⁷ as a junior college. Its initial curriculum consisted of a three-year preparatory course and only the freshman and sophomore years of the college

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 1867, p. 376; *ibid.*, 1866, p. 318.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 1867, p. 377.

¹⁰² Act of May 10, 1871, Pennsylvania, *Laws*, 1872, p. 1290.

¹⁰³ Mercersburg College, *Catalogue* (1865-66), 5.

¹⁰⁴ H. M. J. Klein, *A Century of Education at Mercersburg, 1836-1936* (Lancaster, 1936), 407; Marshall Collegiate Institute, *Annual Circular* (1864-65), 3.

¹⁰⁵ Franklin County, Deed Book, No. 40, p. 118, Courthouse, Chambersburg.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Klein, *Mercersburg*, 408.

course.¹⁰⁸ The first freshman class consisting of one "initiate" was not organized until the beginning of the second academic year of the college's existence.¹⁰⁹ Two years later a full four-year college course of study was inaugurated.¹¹⁰ At this time there were two college classes, the freshman and the sophomore.¹¹¹ Consequently, two years later the institution was prepared to graduate its first class, and it did so on May 31, 1871, when two students were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree.¹¹²

Despite the apparently auspicious beginning—one hundred students were enrolled in the institution at the close of its first academic year—the college was unable to overcome the difficulties which mounted with each succeeding year.¹¹³ From a high of 131 students in 1867, the enrollment dropped to 49 in 1880,¹¹⁴ the last year of the institution's existence as a college.¹¹⁵ Lacking an endowment and forced to depend upon its income from tuition,¹¹⁶ the college's financial position deteriorated to such a low point in 1880 that its total assets and potential income amounted to less than one-half its liabilities. As a consequence, the Synod of the Potomac declared the college to be insolvent and proposed that the regents suspend classes.¹¹⁷

Responsibility for its failure, according to a contemporary newspaper account, lay at the feet of those who had undertaken its care. All efforts toward raising an endowment were crippled because of "the spirit of jealousy and rivalry which permeated the bosoms of those who should have aided the work." Mercersburg College, the article continued, "never received the hearty and unanimous support of the ministry of the church. . . ." The synod in which it was located was "ever ready to legislate concerning it but made no personal efforts in its behalf. . . ." In conclusion, the paper suggested that a fitting

¹⁰⁸ Mercersburg College, *Catalogue* (1865-66), 9-12.

¹⁰⁹ Dr. Thomas G. Apple to Dr. Bausman, August 27, 1866, Pennsylvania German Society, Fackenthal Library, Franklin and Marshall College.

¹¹⁰ Mercersburg College, *Catalogue* (1868-69), 11-13.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹¹² Mercersburg College, *Program, First Annual Commencement* (n.p., May 31, 1871); Mercersburg College, *Catalogue* (1872-73), 7.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* (1865-66), 16.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* (1866-67), 17; *ibid.* (1879-80), 19.

¹¹⁵ *Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the Potomac of the Reformed Church . . . October, 1880* (Philadelphia, 1880), Minutes of October 14, 1880, p. 36; Mercersburg College, *Alumni Record* (1865-80); *USRCE, 1882-1883*, p. 631.

¹¹⁶ Chambersburg Valley Spirit, September 20, 1893.

¹¹⁷ *Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the Potomac*, Minutes of October 14, 1880, pp. 35-36.

epitaph for Mercersburg College would be: "Died of Synodical Resolutions."¹¹⁸

Ursinus College. Doctrinal differences, reflective of the "schism" which had developed within the German Reformed church, led to the establishment of Ursinus College. Concerned with the "Romanizing" tendencies exhibited by certain sections of the church, particularly those inherent in the "Mercersburg Theology" embraced at Franklin and Marshall College and the theological seminary at Lancaster, the progenitors of Ursinus College were induced to found a new institution faithful to the principles of the Reformation.¹¹⁹ Desiring that the name of the new college should be symbolic of its principles, they chose that of Zacharias Ursinus, a scholar and theologian of the sixteenth century and the principal author of the Heidelberg Catechism.¹²⁰

A charter was obtained from the State legislature in February, 1869, incorporating in Upper Providence Township (now Collegeville) in the county of Montgomery "an institution of learning, for the purpose of imparting instruction in Science, Literature, the Liberal Arts and Learned Professions, by the name, style and title of Ursinus College." It provided for a board of directors with the right of perpetual succession. The faculty, with the consent of the directors, were granted the right to confer "the degrees . . . usually conferred by . . . the Colleges and Universities of this Commonwealth."¹²¹

At their first meeting after the securing of the charter, the directors consummated the conveyance to their ownership of the property of the Freeland Seminary (founded in 1848) and continued it as the preparatory department of Ursinus College,¹²² which opened for instruction September 6, 1870.¹²³ A faculty was elected, consisting of a "President, and Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Evidences of Christianity, Biblical Studies, &c."; a "Vice President, and Professor

¹¹⁸ Chambersburg *Valley Spirit*, September 20, 1893.

¹¹⁹ S. L. Messinger, "History of Ursinus College," *The Ruby*, I (1896), 13; Grant E. Harrity, "The Events Leading to the Founding of Ursinus College" (Unpublished Bachelor of Divinity dissertation, Ursinus College, 1949), 1 ff.; Clifton S. Hunsicker, *Montgomery County, Pennsylvania: A History*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1923), I, 395.

¹²⁰ Messinger, "History of Ursinus College," *The Ruby*, I, 15.

¹²¹ Act of February 5, 1869, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1869*, p. 107.

¹²² Freeland Seminary, *Catalogue* (October, 1849), 7 ff.; *ibid.* (October, 1851), 9; Ursinus College, *Announcement* (February 12, 1869). The Freeland Seminary catalogues are located in the Ursinus College Library.

¹²³ Ursinus College, *Catalogue* (1869-70), 12.

of Mathematics, Mechanics, the Harmony of Science, and Revealed Religion"; an "Adjunct Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literature, &c."; a "Professor of the German Language and Literature, of History, the History and Philosophy of Language, &c."; an unfilled professorship of "Belles Lettres and Political Economy"; a "Professor of Chemistry, Geology, Botany, &c."; a "Lecturer on Physiology and Anatomy"; and an instructor in the academic department, a teacher of instrumental music, and a teacher of vocal music.¹²⁴ Admission requirements were formulated, and a four-year graded college curriculum was adopted.¹²⁵ Three years after the inception of classes, five students who had completed the college course to the satisfaction of the faculty and the trustees were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree (1873), the first degrees to be conferred by Ursinus College.¹²⁶

Gettysburg College. Representing the first major, independent effort of the Lutherans to establish a college under their auspices, Gettysburg College emerged as a higher extension of a classical school, which was founded in June, 1827, and named the "Gettysburg Gymnasium" in the summer of 1829.¹²⁷ Because of its "salutary influence in advancing the cause of liberal education, particularly among the German portion of our fellow citizens," the State legislature in April, 1832, erected the Gettysburg Gymnasium "into a College, for the education of youth in the learned languages, the arts, sciences and useful literature," by the style and title of "Pennsylvania College of Gettysburg."¹²⁸

The charter established a corporation, composed of all those who subscribed to the funds of the institution, to be known as "The patrons of Pennsylvania College in Gettysburg, in the county of Adams." They were to meet annually and were to elect a board of trustees of twenty-one members, three-fourths of whom were to be selected from among the patrons. No person was to be denied reception as a pupil or election as a patron, trustee, teacher, or officer because of his religious beliefs. Responsibility for fulfilling all corporate functions was vested in the trustees, who, together with the faculty, were entitled to confer the degrees "usually granted in other colleges. . . ." In addition to

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 15-18.

¹²⁵ Ursinus College, *Decennial Catalogue* (1871-81), 10.

¹²⁷ Pennsylvania College, *Catalogue* (February, 1837), 13.

¹²⁸ Act of April 7, 1832, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1831-1832*, p. 365.

those professorships customary in other colleges, Pennsylvania College was to institute a German professorship, the incumbent of which was to "instruct such young men as may resort to the institution for the purpose of becoming qualified to be teachers of those primary schools, in which, according to the act passed last session, both German and English are to be taught. . . ." ¹²⁹

Shortly after the receipt of the charter, the trustees appointed by the patrons of Pennsylvania College held their first meeting (July 4, 1832) and organized themselves by electing the officers of the board. They selected their first faculty, composed of: a "Prof. of intellectual Philosophy and Moral Sciences"; a "Prof. of the Latin Language and German Literature"; a "Prof. of the Greek language & Belles Lettres"; a "Prof. of Mathematics, Chemistry and Natural Philosophy"; and a "Prof. of Mineralogy & Botany." ¹³⁰ It was anticipated that a competent professor of the French language would be appointed by the time the college opened its doors for instruction. Contrary to the usual practice, the selection of the first president of the college was deferred until 1834. ¹³¹ Finally, it was resolved that the Pennsylvania College go into operation "on the seventh day of November next." ¹³²

In addition to the contributions received from the patrons, steps were taken to provide the funds necessary to assure the institution's continued life. A committee was appointed to apply to the State legislature for financial aid. ¹³³ Evidently the committee performed its work well, for the Assembly in February, 1834, voted an appropriation of \$3,000 to the college, plus \$3,000 per year for the next five years, provided the college raised a similar fund from other sources. ¹³⁴ Scholarships were offered for sale, entitling the subscriber of \$75 to gratuitous tuition for one student for the four years of the college course, and the donor of \$100 to a similar privilege for one student

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Pennsylvania College, Minutes of Trustees, I, July 4, 1832, pp. 1-2, President's Office, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1834, pp. 14-15.

¹³² *Ibid.*, July 4, 1832, p. 3.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, September 26, 1832, p. 7.

¹³⁴ Act of February 6, 1834, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1833-1834*, p. 34. The matching requirement seemed to offer no impediment to the trustees, for in April, 1834, they passed a resolution thanking Thaddeus Stevens and other gentlemen "tho whose disinterested and zealous exertions the appropriations for this College was obtained from the legislature," and in 1842 they resolved to set aside the State appropriation exclusively for the payment of the debts of the college. Pennsylvania College, Minutes of Trustees, I, April 15, 1834, p. 17; September 14, 1842, p. 99.

for both the preparatory and the collegiate courses.¹³⁵ Further, organized community support was sought by the appointment of two agents "to lay the claims of this institution before the public, and solicit funds."¹³⁶

To facilitate instruction and to provide the essential facilities and equipment necessary for its successful prosecution, the trustees adopted regulations governing the deportment and discipline of the students and circumscribing the area of curricular offerings, and they voted funds for the initiation of a library and the enlargement of the chemical and philosophical apparatus.¹³⁷ The faculty was enjoined against permitting anything relating to party politics to be admitted to the public exercises of the institution, and the students were barred from attending any political celebration.¹³⁸ As for the library and equipment, the trustees in 1834 voted to expend \$500 "in the purchase of an incipient College Library" and \$300 for a "Chemical & Philosophical Apparatus."¹³⁹ That a library was begun is evidenced first by the faculty's formulating rules for its use, and second by the trustees' directing that a suitable room be procured for housing the books.¹⁴⁰

Since the earliest records are silent with respect to curricular offerings, it can only be presumed that the college course was both an extension and an enlargement of that offered by its predecessor, the Gymnasium. It was not until 1834, two years after college instruction had commenced, that the institution published a four-year graded course for the collegiate department and the requirements for admission to that department.¹⁴¹ Having completed the course and having sustained a satisfactory examination, three students, on the recommendation of the faculty, were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree (1831), the first degrees to be conferred by Gettysburg College.¹⁴²

Susquehanna University. Convinced of the necessity for establishing a missionary institute similar to the seminary for educating

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, April 15, 1831, p. 16.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, April 23, 1835, p. 23.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, September 26, 1832, pp. 4 ff.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, September 18, 1833, p. 11.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, April 15, 1834, pp. 16-17.

¹⁴⁰ Pennsylvania College, Minutes of Faculty, June 19, 1834, President's Office, Gettysburg College; Pennsylvania College, Minutes of Trustees, I, September 17, 1834, p. 20.

¹⁴¹ Pennsylvania College, *Charter . . . with Course of Studies* (n.p., 1834), 9-10.

¹⁴² Pennsylvania College, Minutes of Trustees, I, September 17, 1834, p. 19.

missionaries at Basle, Switzerland, the Reverend Benjamin Kurtz in 1855 proposed to the Maryland Synod of the Lutheran Church that it found an institution for the education of pious young men for the Gospel ministry without their having to pursue a curriculum demanding an eight- or ten-year course of training.¹⁴³ Kurtz's plan was favorably received by the synod; a board of managers for the proposed institute was appointed, which board held its first meeting on December 15, 1856, and adopted statutes for the government of the Missionary Institute of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.¹⁴⁴ The Reverend Dr. Kurtz was elected the first "Superintendent" of the Institute and "Professor in the Department of the Sacred Scriptures, Systematic Divinity & Pastoral Theology & such other branches as the Board may assign him," at a salary of \$1,000 per annum; and a traveling agent was appointed "to collect funds in aid of the Institute."¹⁴⁵

It was originally resolved to locate the institution at Baltimore, Maryland.¹⁴⁶ However, this resolution was soon rescinded so that the managers could give preference to any town or neighborhood which would offer the largest pecuniary contribution.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, the receipt of attractive offers from localities situated outside of Maryland, particularly in Pennsylvania, induced the board of managers to dissolve its connection with the Maryland Synod and to constitute itself a self-perpetuating body with the right to fill its own vacancies.¹⁴⁸ This act left the board free to accept the proposals of the town of Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, which offered to raise subscriptions amounting to \$22,000, with a prospect of increasing those subscriptions to \$25,000, provided the managers agreed to locate the institute there and consented, as part of the contract, to establish "a first rate school for boys, and a college for females."¹⁴⁹

Moving rapidly on the heels of this decision, the managers filed an application for incorporation (May 25, 1858) with the Court of Common Pleas of Snyder County, Pennsylvania, and were granted a

¹⁴³ Missionary Institute, Minutes of Managers, I, August 31, 1858, pp. 38 ff., President's Office, Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania; William Noetling, "Higher Education," *PRSPI*, 1877, pp. 504-505.

¹⁴⁴ Missionary Institute, Minutes of Managers, I, December 15, 1856, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, February 9, October 19, 1857, pp. 5-6, 7; May 3, 1858, p. 15.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, December 15, 1856, p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, February 9, 1857, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, October 19, 1857, p. 9.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, March 24, May 3, 1858, pp. 11, 15.

charter the following September.¹⁵⁰ The charter provided for the creation of "a Theological and Literary institution, in or near the Borough of Selinsgrove, Snyder County, Pennsylvania, to be known by the name, style and title of 'The Missionary Institute of the Evangelical Lutheran Church,'" with the right of perpetual succession. The institute was given the power "to grant diplomas to its graduates, together with all the other powers, rights, privileges, and immunities usually appertaining to, or belonging to Classical and Theological Institutions or Colleges."¹⁵¹

From the outset, the institute limited the scope of its classical department¹⁵² to providing students with the necessary instruction and facilities "for acquiring a respectable business education as also to prepare themselves for the Junior and Senior Classes of College." Accordingly, classes were initiated in the "Collegiate Department" on June 11, 1858, to which students were admitted who met no other specified requirement than that of a "good moral character."¹⁵³ Nor was the curriculum for this department much more specific than the condition set for admission. Students were informed that "No degrees are conferred in the Collegiate Department—Collegiate Certificates, however, will be given to all worthy students, certifying to the attainments which they have made."¹⁵⁴

Beginning with 1861, occasional attempts were made to extend the classical curriculum to comprehend a full college program leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree.¹⁵⁵ In 1888, on the basis of a petition submitted by the students of the class of 1888 and 1889, the managers adopted the recommendation to confer degrees.¹⁵⁶ However, nothing was done to implement this decision by way of curriculum revision

¹⁵⁰ Snyder County, Deed Book, No. 1, p. 461 (September 24, 1858), Courthouse, Middleburg. It should be noted here that, in accordance with their agreement with the citizens of Selinsgrove, the managers simultaneously obtained a separate charter establishing "The Susquehanna Female College of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." *Ibid.*, 459 (September 24, 1858).

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 461 (September 24, 1858).

¹⁵² The theological department will be discussed in the chapter on theological education.

¹⁵³ Missionary Institute, Minutes of Managers, I, August 31, 1858, p. 39; Missionary Institute, *Catalogue* (1858-59), 13.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 14, 19.

¹⁵⁵ Missionary Institute, Minutes of Managers, I, March 5, 1861, p. 73.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, September 29, October 18, 1887, pp. 250-52, 253; June 5, 1888, pp. 258-59. An honorary degree of Master of Arts, the first and only degree awarded by Susquehanna University as the Missionary Institute, was conferred the following year on the "Rev. Day." Missionary Institute, Minutes of Directors, I, July 9, 1889, p. 269. The minutes now refer to the managers as "Directors."

until 1894. In that year the directors voted to "enlarge the Curriculum to a full College course" leading to the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Science degrees; to amend their constitution, changing the name of the institution to Susquehanna University of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; and to change the title of the head of the school from "Superintendent" to "President."¹⁵⁷ The change of name to Susquehanna University of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was legally confirmed in 1895 by order of the Court of Common Pleas of Snyder County.¹⁵⁸

In accordance with their decision, the directors instituted a four-year graded college course of study.¹⁵⁹ In 1896, two years after the inauguration of this curriculum, Susquehanna University awarded its first degrees in course, the Bachelor of Arts degree, to six men comprising the first graduating class.¹⁶⁰ Recognition of its newly acquired collegiate status was accorded the university by the United States Commissioner of Education, who, in his report for 1895-1896, for the first time classified the institution among the colleges and universities of the country.¹⁶¹

Muhlenberg College. In the spring of 1848 a school in Allentown was opened with four pupils under the name of Allentown Seminary.¹⁶² The school continued with varied success until March, 1864, when it was chartered by the State legislature as the Allentown Collegiate Institute and Military Academy.¹⁶³ It was from these beginnings that Muhlenberg College arose.

For some years the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania had been considering the propriety of establishing a new institution of learning within its bounds. At a meeting in 1860 it appointed a special committee to study the matter and to prepare proposals for the considera-

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, June 5, 6, December 4, 1894, pp. 43, 46, 54, 57.

¹⁵⁸ Snyder County, Miscellaneous Record, No. 4, p. 221 (February 25, 1895), Courthouse, Middleburg.

¹⁵⁹ Susquehanna University, *Catalogue* (1894-95), 24-27.

¹⁶⁰ Susquehanna University, Minutes of Directors, II, June 15, 1896, p. 83.

¹⁶¹ *USRCE*, 1895-1896, II, 1973. The Commissioner's report for 1894-1895, II, 2092, lists the institution among the private academies and secondary schools.

¹⁶² *Pennsylvania School Journal*, I (October, 1852), 200-201; E. J. Young, "Muhlenberg College," *PRSCS*, 1868, p. 158; Robert E. Wright, "Muhlenberg College," *Addresses Delivered at the Inauguration of the Faculty and Laying of the Corner-Stone of Muhlenberg College, at Allentown, September 3d and 4th, 1867* (Allentown, 1868), 3; S. E. Ochsenford (ed.), *Muhlenberg College* (Allentown, 1892), 43.

¹⁶³ Act of March 17, 1864, Pennsylvania, *Laws*, 1864, p. 42.

tion of the ministerium at its meeting in 1861.¹⁶⁴ Though the committee's plan for removing the German department of the Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg to Allentown proved unacceptable to the synod, the ministerium did adopt that portion of a subsequent report which proposed "That the Allentown Seminary . . . be recommended as a preparatory institution where young men who desire to prepare for the ministry can pursue their studies. . . ."¹⁶⁵

The transformation of the Allentown Seminary in 1864 into the Allentown Collegiate Institute and Military Academy with full collegiate powers stimulated a committee (appointed to propose suitable arrangements for securing buildings for a college and teachers' seminary) to urge the synod "to make such arrangements with the proprietors of the Allentown Collegiate Institute, that the institution may not pass into other hands before an opportunity is offered to our Synod of obtaining full possession of the same." With the adoption of this recommendation, the ministerium moved towards the acquisition of the Allentown Collegiate Institute.¹⁶⁶ So successful were the labors of the committee that by 1867 the synod was informed of the rapid realization of its goals: "to secure the continuation and advancement of the school, established nineteen years ago, for the promotion of Christian education; to bring this Institution under the supervision of our Church; and to raise it to the grade of a full college. Muhlenberg College can and will soon be formally opened with very fair prospects of success."¹⁶⁷

Lutheran sentiment was by no means united in favor of the new institution. Serious questions were raised as to the need for and the appropriateness of a second Lutheran college since a prosperous and successful school already existed at Gettysburg. The Reverend Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, the first president of Muhlenberg College,

¹⁶⁴ *Minutes of the 113th Annual Session of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium . . .* (Lancaster, 1860), June 8, 1860, p. 30.

¹⁶⁵ *Minutes of the 114th Annual Session of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium . . .* (Lancaster, 1861), May 29, 1861, pp. 39-40; *Minutes of the 115th Annual Session of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium . . .* (Allentown, 1862), June 19, 1862, p. 36.

¹⁶⁶ *Minutes of the 117th Annual Meeting of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium . . .* (Allentown, 1864), July 27, 1864, pp. 83-84; *Minutes of the 118th Annual Meeting of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium . . .* (Allentown, 1865), June 15, 1865, pp. 36-37; *Minutes of the Special and 119th Annual Meetings of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium . . .* (Philadelphia, 1866), June 14, 1866, pp. 31-32.

¹⁶⁷ *Minutes of the Special and 120th Annual Meeting of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium . . .* (Germantown, 1867), June 18, 1867, p. 29.

sought to nullify the force of these objections by arguing that Gettysburg College was too far distant and difficult of access to satisfy the higher educational needs of the eastern section of the church. He pointed to the fact that though Gettysburg College was enjoying the highest student enrollment in its history, only twenty-five of its students represented a synod of fifty thousand communicants. Of even greater consequence, in the view of Muhlenberg, was the schism which had developed within the church, making mandatory the establishment of a separate college. Concerning this cleavage he said:

. . . with respect to Pennsylvania College, we have, for the space of seventeen years, been endeavoring to cultivate the most friendly feeling for the brethren by whom it has been managed: we have either, directly or indirectly, contributed upwards of forty thousand dollars to its support; have been sending our representatives and students there, and have made use of every effort to unite our entire church in Pennsylvania in its support; but we are compelled, more in sorrow than in anger, to lament that all our efforts to conciliate, consolidate, and assimilate, have most signally failed, and that we have met with bitter disappointment. . . . We are therefore compelled to organize a College for ourselves, to make proper provision for the education of our children, and to furnish a sufficient number of students for our Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, and adequate to the growing demands of our church in Pennsylvania and elsewhere.¹⁶⁸

The meeting of the synod which heard the announcement of the acquisition of the Allentown Collegiate Institute and Military Academy also received a report from a committee of the newly constituted board of trustees of Muhlenberg College. This report outlined the steps taken to form a stock company and to secure an amendment to the charter of the institute. Under the provisions of the amended charter, a meeting of the stockholders was called February 2, 1867, and a new board of trustees was provided for, twelve of whom were elected by the stockholders and six of whom were to be elected by the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania from such of its members as were stockholders.¹⁶⁹

Little time was lost by the newly organized board of trustees in adopting measures necessary for the opening of the new college. A faculty was selected, and the Reverend F. A. Muhlenberg was unani-

¹⁶⁸ F. A. Muhlenberg, "Inaugural Address," *Addresses Delivered at the Inauguration*, 21 ff.

¹⁶⁹ *Minutes of the Special and 120th Annual Meeting*, June 18, 1867, pp. 30-31.

mously elected as the first president of Muhlenberg College.¹⁷⁰ In turn, the faculty held its first meeting in August, 1867, and arranged for the formulation of a roster of recitations in anticipation of the opening of the college on September 4, 1867.¹⁷¹

Unlike most of its predecessors, which established their college classes from freshman to senior in successive steps, Muhlenberg College sprang to full organization in one bound. Even prior to its formal opening, a sufficient number of properly qualified applicants were enrolled to enable the faculty to institute classes in all four years of the college course.¹⁷² To provide for these, admission requirements were formulated, and a four-year curriculum adopted.¹⁷³

In June, 1868, one year after the opening of the college, the faculty recommended the senior class, consisting of four men, for the first degree in the arts.¹⁷⁴ The following day the trustees confirmed the recommendation and authorized the president to confer the degree of "Artium Bachelor" on Muhlenberg's first graduating class.¹⁷⁵

Thiel College. Imbued with the desire to further "some benevolent purpose connected with the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom," A. Louis Thiel of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1865 entrusted the sum of \$5,500 to the Reverend W. A. Passavant to invest in such a cause. Together they decided that the donation be devoted to the establishment of schools "sacred to the interests of Christian education in connection with the Evangelical Lutheran Church."¹⁷⁶ The following year an academy or classical school, known as Thiel Hall, was initiated at Phillipsburg (now Monaca), offering, in addition to the secondary school program, the freshman and sophomore years of the college course.¹⁷⁷

In 1869 Mr. Passavant offered Thiel Hall to the Pittsburgh Synod subject to two conditions: first, should the synod decide to sell the

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁷¹ Muhlenberg College, Minutes of Faculty, I, August 30, September 2, 1867, Muhlenberg College Library, Allentown, Pennsylvania.

¹⁷² Muhlenberg College, *Catalogue* (1867-68), 14; *PRSCS*, 1868, p. 158.

¹⁷³ Muhlenberg College, *Catalogue* (1867-68), 12-13.

¹⁷⁴ Muhlenberg College, Minutes of Faculty, I, June 22, 1868.

¹⁷⁵ Muhlenberg College, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 23, 1868, p. 95, Treasurer's Office, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania.

¹⁷⁶ *The Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church: Sessions and Action of the Twenty-seventh Convention . . .* (Pittsburgh, 1869), October 16, 1869, pp. 33-35.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; Ellis B. Burgess, *Memorial History of the Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1748-1845-1925* (Greenville, Pa., 1925), 92.

property, the proceeds of the sale were to be used in the promotion of Christian education in accordance with the precepts of the Evangelical Lutheran church; second, the academy was to be considered as the beginning of a "Synodical Institution of Learning in connection with the 'Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.'" At the same time, in concurrence with Mr. Thiel, Passavant suggested that the synod move in the direction of establishing a college by electing a board of trustees and by obtaining a charter at the next meeting of the legislature.¹⁷⁸

The synod accepted the gift under the imposed conditions, passed a resolution stating "that the time has now come to take the preliminary steps for the establishment of a College within our bounds," and elected a board of trustees with instructions to apply for a charter at the next meeting of the legislature.¹⁷⁹ Acting swiftly, the trustees procured an act of incorporation from the General Assembly in April, 1870. The charter erected Thiel Hall, then located at Phillipsburg, Beaver County, into an "institution of learning, consisting of a college and such preparatory departments as the trustees thereof may deem necessary, to be permanently located at such place in Western Pennsylvania as the trustees hereafter may determine, under the name, style and title of Thiel college of the Evangelical Lutheran church. . . ." It vested the management of the institution in a board of trustees, not to exceed twenty-five in number, to be appointed by the Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. A faculty was provided for, to consist of a president and other professors, with the power "to give and confer all such diplomas, degrees and honors as are usually given or conferred in colleges or universities."¹⁸⁰

Shortly after the receipt of the charter, the trustees met and resolved for the present "to seek the establishment of an Educational Institution, consisting of the First & Second College classes, together with a Preparatory Department"; to elect for this purpose a "first & second Professor, and a Principal of the Preparatory Department"; to devote the income from the fund donated to them for the support of the professors, and to apply the income from tuition to the same purpose; and to commence the first session of the college at Thiel Hall, Phillipsburg, on September 1, 1870.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ *Pittsburgh Synod . . . Twenty-seventh Convention*, October 16, 1869, pp. 34-35.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, October 18, 1869, pp. 35-36.

¹⁸⁰ Act of April 14, 1870, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1870*, p. 1167.

¹⁸¹ Thiel College, *Minutes of Trustees*, I, June 21, 1870, p. 7, Bursar's Office, Thiel College, Greenville, Pennsylvania.

Since the charter delegated to the trustees the decision as to the permanent location of the college, stipulating only that it be in "western Pennsylvania," they considered the site at Phillipsburg as temporary and were ready to move the institution to that town or city which promised the best financial and material inducement.¹⁸² An offer of five acres of land and \$10,000 in cash was made by citizens of Greenville, Pennsylvania, if Thiel College were permanently located there. This bid was accepted by the trustees after subsequent negotiations had succeeded in raising the cash donation to \$20,000; and on September 7, 1871, the transfer to Greenville was effected.¹⁸³

In the meantime, classes were in progress, embracing the preparatory department and the freshman and sophomore years of the college course.¹⁸⁴ That the college was not yet ready to extend its curriculum beyond the sophomore year is evidenced by a resolution of the trustees recommending that those students prepared to enter the junior class continue their studies at Muhlenberg College and that the faculty of that institution be requested "to admit our students upon the examinations of Thiel College."¹⁸⁵ It was not until 1872 that the board of trustees determined to incorporate the junior year into the course of study; and one more year was to pass before a committee of the trustees was instructed "to increase the teaching force in order to retain the senior class."¹⁸⁶

To implement its newly won status as a fully organized college, a four-year course of study was adopted. Since the trustees had early decided to admit females as well as males into the institution, a "Young Ladies Curriculum" was also provided.¹⁸⁷ On the basis of having successfully completed the prescribed curriculum, the senior class, consisting of six men, received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1874, the first degrees to be conferred by Thiel College.¹⁸⁸ The following year the trustees resolved that four young women "who have completed the

¹⁸² Act of April 14, 1870, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1870*, p. 1167; N. W. Porter, "Thiel College," *PRSCS, 1872*, p. 132.

¹⁸³ Thiel College, Minutes of Trustees, I, January 11, May 10, 1871, pp. 15-17, 20; *Eric Gazette*, February 9, 1871; Burgess, *Pittsburgh Synod*, 92.

¹⁸⁴ Thiel College, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 21, 1870, p. 6.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1871, p. 22.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, February 27, 1872, p. 38; June 24, 1873, p. 52.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, October 3, 1871, p. 23; Thiel College, *Catalogue (1875-76)*, 16-19.

¹⁸⁸ Thiel College, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 24, 1874, p. 65.

full course of Studies embraced in the Young Ladies Curriculum be graduated to the same degree with the Young Men of the Senior Class.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, June 23, 1875, p. 72.

CHAPTER VI

The German Sectarians

1. THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS EDUCATION

It has been noted previously that the sectarians were among the first of the German immigrants and that they enjoyed a numerical superiority over the "church" people until the close of the fourth decade of the eighteenth century.¹ They early established a school at Germantown with Pastorius as teacher.² Daniel Falckner, one of the early Pietists, proposed school teaching as a possible occupation and spoke of the resolve of the settlers on the Wissahickon to give "public instruction to the little children of this country. . . ."³ The Schwenkfelders, who arrived in Pennsylvania in the 1730's, adopted articles of agreement in 1764 for the inauguration of a school system.⁴ These are but samples of what James O. Knauss characterizes as the unanimous approval of elementary instruction of the German religious denominations.⁵

This approval, however, did not always result in material support. Gottlieb Mittelberger deplored the lot of the preacher and the official. The former, he maintained, were "hired by the year like the cowherds in Germany."⁶ Despite their resolve to establish a school system, the Schwenkfelders had serious reservations as to its possible benefits, and they cautiously included among the articles of agreement an escape clause which promised the restitution of their contributions to the subscribers in the event that the enterprise should prove "more harmful than beneficial."⁷ As late as 1814 the Sixty-seventh Convention of the Lutheran Ministerium of Penn-

¹ *Supra*, 20-21; Bittinger, *German Religious Life*, 53; Dubbs, "The Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, XVII (1893), 243.

² Bittinger, *Germans*, 33.

³ Sachse (ed.), *Falckner's Curieuse*, 99; Oswald Seidenstecker, "The Hermits of the Wissahickon," *PMHB*, XI (1887), 441.

⁴ Kriebel, "The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania German Society, *Proceedings and Addresses*, XIII (1904), 120-21; Sachse, *German Sectarians*, I, 215.

⁵ Knauss, *Social Conditions*, 86.

⁶ Mittelberger, *Journey*, 63.

⁷ Quoted by Kriebel, "The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania German Society, *Proceedings and Addresses*, XIII (1904), 127-28.

sylvania declared, "The Synod laments that our Germans in many sections are too parsimonious in the support of their preachers and school-teachers, so that many good and useful men must suffer actual want."⁸

The opposition of a considerable portion of the German population to the charity school movement of the 1750's probably contributed to the belief that the Germans were opposed to all education. Ostensibly the purpose of the movement, according to William Smith, was "To establish some charitable Schools for the pious Education of German Youth of all Denominations, as well as English Youth that may reside among them"⁹ However, other purposes, besides altruism, motivated Smith and the trustees of the Charity Schools. These aims are clearly expressed in the following:

Faithful Protestant Ministers, and School-masters, should be sent and supported among them [the Germans], to warn them against the Horrors of *Popish* Slavery; to teach them sound Principles of Government, and instruct their Children in the *English* Tongue, and the Value of those Privileges to which they are born among us. If this can be done, and the *French* driven from the *Ohio*, so as to have no Communication with our *Germans* for twenty or thirty Years, till they are taught the Value of the Protestant Religion, understand our Language, and see that they have but one Interest with us; they will for the future bravely fight for their own Property, and prove an impregnable Barrier against the Enemy.

At the same time he proposed "that a Stop be put to the Importation of *Germans* into this Province"¹⁰ Furthermore, Smith contended that the very preservation of the economy was dependent on an educated citizenry and that the existence of a vast body of uneducated Germans constituted a threat to commerce and property.¹¹

In addition to these political, religious, military, and economic motives, Smith had yet another reason for educating the Germans. He viewed them as a potential source of students for the College and Academy of Philadelphia, especially since he could expect few students from the Quakers and Presbyterians who patronized schools

⁸ *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium*, 467.

⁹ William Smith, *A Brief History of the Charitable Scheme, for Instructing Poor Germans in Pennsylvania, &c.* (Philadelphia, 1755), 7-9.

¹⁰ [Smith], *Brief State*, 32-34.

¹¹ Wickersham, *History of Education*, 66; see also Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York, 1935), 6.

of their own.¹² Furthermore, the college would act as a training center for teachers for these schools. "It is a happy circumstance, in Pennsylvania in particular," he wrote, "that there is a flourishing Seminary, where such men may be educated; & happier still that the hon^{ble} proprietary is to make a foundation for maintaining & educating constantly some promising Children of poor Germans as a Supply of well-principled Schoolmasters, that must be acceptable among their friends."¹³

From the very beginning of the charity school movement there was a division in attitude among the Pennsylvania Germans with respect to it. Roughly, this division corresponded to their existing religious divisions. The "church" people tended to support the schools, and the sectarians, under the leadership of Christopher Sauer, to oppose them.¹⁴ At their meeting of April 11, 1755, the coetus of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania reported that "inasmuch as the Rev. Coetus has a very good and favorable opinion of this praiseworthy undertaking, it is resolved to send a letter of thanks to the general trustees or superintendents in Philadelphia."¹⁵

The first flush of enthusiasm was soon superseded by doubt and disappointment. In their minutes of June 17, 1756, the members of the coetus "confess that we had not formed the best opinion about them, especially after our Coetus held in Lancaster last year. We could see in the movement nothing but a political affair, which was altogether a damage to our schools."¹⁶ At a special meeting of the coetus held August 24, 1757, they complained that "we can do but little to promote them, since the Directors try to erect nothing but English schools, and care nothing for the German language."¹⁷ The schools declined in number and reputation, so that by their meeting of June 25, 1761, the coetus disposed of them with this final observation: "Regarding the free schools, we can hardly say anything, because the entire matter has been taken out of our hands. In general, we can say that there are still three schools of which we know; two of them are all English and one half German."¹⁸

¹² Weber, *Charity School Movement*, 28-29.

¹³ Smith, *Life and Correspondence*, I, 35-36.

¹⁴ Bittinger, *Germans*, 157-60.

¹⁵ *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, 129.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 138, 143.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 198.

Like most of the sectarians, Christopher Sauer was convinced of the uselessness of any but the most elementary education.¹⁹ Not only was he certain of the political nature of the charity school movement, but he also imputed selfish motives to its promulgators. He insisted that men like Gilbert Tennent, Michael Schlatter, William Smith, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, and others had not "the slightest care for a real conversion of the ignorant portion of the Germans in Pennsylvania"; rather, he suspected, they fostered the institution of free schools as a "foundation to bring the country into servitude, so that each of them may look to his own private advantage."²⁰

It was to higher education that some of the German sectarians offered their most aggressive opposition.²¹ In a letter to his father dated March 1, 1697, Francis Daniel Pastorius stated:

I myself would give forthwith some hundreds of reichsthalers if I had turned the precious time, which I employed in the acquisition of the sparrow-like physic, metaphysic and other unnecessary sophistic arguments and quibbles, to engineering, or the art of printing, which would be more useful to me now, and prove more profitable and more entertaining to me and to my fellow-Christians. . . .²²

Pastorius' rejection of higher education was even more forcibly expressed in a later letter to his father opposing a university education for his brother. He contended that not only did the universities offer a worthless education, but, worse still, they were virtual dens of iniquity where "the students now even begin to drink one another (in actual fact one out of ten) to death, and to hand over the miserable one to Satan in his kingdom of hell. . . ." Pastorius was fearful lest his "dear brother John Samuel," after "he has learned piety and the fear of God at home from his dear parents and his house-tutor . . . should lose them again at the universities; and that he should learn, with the utmost danger to his soul, so many things that are to be forgotten. . . ."²³

Christopher Sauer, perhaps the most vocal and influential of the German sectarians in his opposition to higher education, subscribed to the educational philosophy of Pastorius. On the establishment

¹⁹ Bittinger, *Germans*, 159.

²⁰ Brumbaugh, *Educational Struggle*, 17.

²¹ Knauss, *Social Conditions*, 86.

²² Myers (ed.), *Narratives*, 430.

²³ Pastorius to his father, March 4, 1699, *ibid.*, 446-47.

of the Philadelphia Academy and Charitable School he published an attack against it in his newspaper as fostering the material aggrandizement of man to his spiritual and religious detriment.²⁴ Aside from political considerations, in 1754 he opposed the English Society, organized for the purpose of establishing charity schools, on the mistaken grounds that it intended to create a college for Germans. Forty years later, his grandson Samuel Sauer continued the fight against higher education as leading to deism and atheism. He attributed to Luther the belief that all colleges should be destroyed as spawning places for the devil. Sauer maintained "that educated men were not steadfast, the colleges were the assembling places of rascals, and that hardly anything was taught in them except disputation."²⁵

2. COLLEGES OF THE SECTARIANS

For the purposes of clarity it is perhaps best to reiterate the definition of the German sectarians for this study as constituting those groups of German origin who were dissenters from the organized Lutheran and Reformed churches. This division, as noted previously, was marked by a difference in attitude to higher education. True, some of the sects who originally rejected highly organized churches have since adopted formal polities of their own; however, since it is their early ideological orientation which is of chief concern, no matter how changed it may be at present, they are included in this section.

Mount Pleasant College. It is a matter for conjecture whether Mount Pleasant College was projected at a time when those upon whom it had to depend for existence were ready to come to its support. Unfortunately, there is little by way of evidence upon which to base a judgment; for Mount Pleasant College was short-lived, and the surviving documents concerning it are negligible.

Initiated by the Allegheny Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, the institution was incorporated by the State legislature on April 28, 1851.²⁶ The charter legally established at Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland County, "a college for the education of the youth in the various branches of science, literature, and

²⁴ Knauss, *Social Conditions*, 86-87.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 87-88.

²⁶ Act of April 28, 1851, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1851*, p. 728.

the arts, by the name and style of the 'Mount Pleasant College.' " A board of trustees, elected annually by the Allegheny Conference, was to manage the affairs of the school and was empowered to confer, in connection with the faculty, such degrees in the arts and sciences as were conferred by other colleges or universities in the United States.²⁷

Available sources give no indication as to when the institution opened its doors and whether or not it was in operation from the date of its charter to the year 1855. In this year the college announced a faculty composed of a "President, and Professor of Mental and Moral Science"; a "Professor of Mathematics and Natural Science"; a "Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages"; a woman "Principal of the Female Department"; and a "Teacher of Vocal and Instrumental Music." It also claimed a student enrollment of sixty-six gentlemen and thirty-nine ladies. Of these, nineteen gentlemen comprised the collegiate department—two were enrolled in the junior class, four in the sophomore class, and thirteen in the freshman class.²⁸

The admissions policy was apparently quite elastic. According to the catalogue for 1855-1856, "Students are received at any time; but it is particularly desirable that they should enter at the beginning of the year, or of the spring term." Candidates for any of the college classes were required to "pass a satisfactory examination on that part of our course preceding; or, if they come from schools where different authors are read, on that which shall be deemed an equivalent to this."²⁹ In lieu of a more specific statement, the work of the preparatory department may be assumed to have been requisite for admission to the freshman class. This consisted of the following: "Arithmetic—Stoddard's Intellectual; Colburn's English Grammar—Well's; Green's Analytical; Orcutt's Class Book of Prose and Poetry. Geography—Mitchell's Modern; Fisk's Ancient. Greek—Bullion's Grammar; Bullion's Reader. Latin—Andrew's and Stoddard's Grammar; Andrew's Reader; Loverett's Caesar." Qualified candidates were then admitted to a four-year "Collegiate Course."³⁰

The catalogue makes no mention of any student's having graduated from this course or of the college having ever exercised its

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Mount Pleasant College, *Catalogue* (1855-56), 5, 7, 10, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

degree-granting privileges under the charter. Certainly, there is little likelihood that it did, for in less than two years after the catalogue was issued the college ceased to exist. In 1858 the trustees sold the college property to a new corporation called Mount Pleasant Union College, and the legislature repealed its act of April 28, 1851, incorporating Mount Pleasant College.³¹

Lebanon Valley College. Lebanon Valley College had its origins in Annville Academy, which had been in operation since 1839³² under various proprietors. In 1866 the academy property was offered to the East Pennsylvania Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, provided the conference would agree to "establish and maintain forever an institution of learning of high grade."³³ The conference agreed to undertake the patronage of the school and opened the doors of the institution for instruction on May 7, 1866.³⁴

A charter was granted by the State legislature on April 5, 1867, establishing "a college for the education of persons of both sexes, the name, style and title of which shall be Lebanon Valley College." The corporation was granted the right to confer "such degrees, in the liberal arts and sciences . . . as are usually conferred and granted in other colleges of the United States. . . ." Unlike most college charters, which prohibit faculty members from serving as trustees, the charter of Lebanon Valley College stipulated that the "faculty shall be ex-officio members of the board of trustees."³⁵

Having achieved legal recognition as a college, the institution embarked on a broad program of studies that included a normal course leading to the "Bachelor of Elements" degree, a three-year scientific course culminating in the Bachelor of Science degree, a three-year ladies' course for which the Mistress of Arts degree was offered, a Biblical course resulting in the Bachelor of Biblical Science

³¹ Act of March 23, 1858, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1858*, p. 140.

³² Annville Academy, *Catalogue* (1850), 10.

³³ William H. Egle, *History of the Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883): "History of the County of Lebanon," 231. It may be noted that the early minutes of the trustees are missing. Presumably they were consumed in the fire which destroyed the main college building on December 24, 1904. Lebanon Valley College, *Minutes of Trustees*, December 27, 1904, p. 1. The earliest extant minutes begin with this meeting. The minutes are in the possession of the business office at the college.

³⁴ Lebanon Valley College, *Preliminary Circular* (1866), 17.

³⁵ Act of April 5, 1867, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1867*, p. 821.

degree, as well as the four-year college classical course leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree.³⁶

Three years after its incorporation, Lebanon Valley College graduated its first class, consisting of two men and one woman.³⁷ Unfortunately, the catalogue recording this event makes no mention of the kind of degree or diploma awarded these first graduates.

Juniata College. Juniata College, Huntingdon, traces its origins to a small proprietary normal school established by J. M. Zook in 1876 at the urging of J. B. Brumbaugh and Dr. A. B. Brumbaugh.³⁸ Three rooms in the Pilgrim Building were furnished gratuitously by the Brumbaughs, and notices of the school's contemplated opening on April 17, 1876, appeared in the local press.³⁹ The school commenced, as advertised, with three students.⁴⁰

Though its beginnings were modest, the enterprise, renamed the Huntingdon Normal School, increased its enrollment to the point where its accommodations were proving inadequate to provide for those seeking admission. An informal meeting of members of the German Baptist Brethren convened in January, 1877, considered the possibility of assuming patronage of the school under the control of the Brethren, of assuring its financial stability, and of procuring the buildings necessary for its continued expansion and growth. A committee was appointed to draft a resolution embracing these ideas for consideration at the next meeting to be held in February, 1877.⁴¹

The plan was adopted by the temporary trustees February 2, 1877, and was approved by a council meeting of the Brethren in the James Creek congregation the following day.⁴² It indicated that the subject of education had "been before the fraternity of the Brethren for a number of years" and that "many have felt the need of a

³⁶ Lebanon Valley College, *Catalogue* (1866-67), 16 ff.

³⁷ *Ibid.* (1874-75), 6.

³⁸ J. M. Zook, Scrapbook, entry of March 28, 1876. This is in the possession of Dr. Norman J. Brumbaugh, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, entry of April 4, 1876; *Huntingdon Pilgrim*, April 4, 1876; *Huntingdon Journal*, April 7, 1876.

⁴⁰ Zook, Scrapbook, entry of April 25, 1876; *Huntingdon Pilgrim*, April 25, 1876.

⁴¹ Huntingdon Normal School, Minutes of Trustees, I, January 27, 1877, pp. 1 ff. These minutes are located in the Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

⁴² *Ibid.*, February 2, 1877, p. 4; *Educational—Huntingdon Normal School*, 4. This four-page pamphlet printed in February, 1877, is available in the Juniata College Library.

school surrounded by the proper moral influences." It proposed the formation of the "Huntingdon School Fund" to be raised by the issuing of stock at \$100 a share, each share entitling its holder to one vote. A board of nine trustees, all of whom were to be Brethren, was to be elected by the stockholders.⁴³

Shortly after the stock company and the board of trustees had been organized, Plum Creek Normal School and Huntingdon Normal School were united, and their resources were pooled.⁴⁴ A catalogue was issued setting forth the advantages of the new institution and describing the course of study as one which "will embrace the branches taught at our best State Normal Schools."⁴⁵ With a view towards giving the new institution permanent legal status, the trustees applied for (1878) and obtained a charter from the Court of Common Pleas of Huntingdon County, changing the institution's name to the Brethren's Normal College. The charter proclaimed as its purpose the establishment of "a School or institution of learning that will provide the younger of both sexes with such Educational advantages as will fit them for the duties and responsibilities of life, at such place and under such influences as will not prejudice their minds against any of the doctrines of the Bible as believed and practiced by the Brethren." In conjunction with the trustees, the faculty was empowered "to confer upon Students at graduation, Diplomas and Literary Degrees."⁴⁶

Consistent with its newly won "collegiate" rank, the school expanded its curriculum offerings to include the "Normal English," the "Scientific," the "Classical," and the "Business" course, and offered such students who successfully completed them the corresponding degrees of Bachelor in English, Bachelor in Science, Bachelor of Arts, and Bachelor of Commercial Science. Of these courses, only the classical, described as "essentially the same as that of the best of our American Colleges," was four years in length; the others were to run for no more than two years.⁴⁷

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1-3.

⁴⁴ Huntingdon Normal School, Minutes of Trustees, I, April 29, 1877, p. 7; Huntingdon Normal School, *Circular Letter*, April 26, 1877, announcing uniting of Plum Creek Normal School with Huntingdon Normal School. A copy is located in the Juniata College Library.

⁴⁵ Huntingdon Normal School, *Catalogue* (1876-77), 2.

⁴⁶ Huntingdon County, Miscellaneous Book, V, 382-84 (November 18, 1878), Court-house, Huntingdon.

⁴⁷ Brethren's Normal College, *Catalogue* (1878-79), 11 ff.

The course leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree, either because of the prejudice of the Brethren against higher education⁴⁸ or the lack of willingness or readiness of students to devote four years to the liberal arts, had no more than paper existence for more than sixteen years after its publication. The first graduates of the school in 1879 had pursued the "Normal English" course;⁴⁹ and this obtained for almost all subsequent graduates, until 1897. There were no applicants for the classical course until 1894, when the catalogue listed six: four as freshmen and two as sophomores.⁵⁰ The Brethren's Normal College never exercised its charter privilege of conferring the Bachelor of Arts degree. In 1896 application was made for a change of name and the Court of Common Pleas decreed that the institution be known henceforth as "Juniata College."⁵¹ The year following, Juniata College conferred its first Bachelor of Arts degree upon one male graduate of the class of 1897.⁵²

With this act the institution achieved collegiate status in the eyes of the United States Commissioner of Education. For the first time (1898) it was listed among the institutions of higher education in the United States in the Commissioner's tables of "statistics of universities and colleges. . . ."⁵³ State recognition, however, was much slower in forthcoming. The Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction withheld its approval until 1904, when it announced that Juniata College "has complied with all the requirements of the act of Assembly which governs colleges vested with the power to confer degrees."⁵⁴

Elizabethtown College. Elizabethtown College represents the second successful attempt of the German Baptist Brethren of Pennsylvania to found an institution of higher education. In 1899 members of the church met at Elizabethtown, organized themselves as a board of trustees, appointed a committee to obtain a charter, and

⁴⁸ As late as 1900 a shareholder in the corporation complained of "the fact that there is an element in the church opposed to education." Juniata College, Minutes of Stockholders, February 19, 1900, p. 53. These are located in the Juniata College Library.

⁴⁹ Brethren's Normal College, *Catalogue* (1878-79), 4.

⁵⁰ Juniata College, *Catalogue* (1894-95), 4.

⁵¹ Juniata College, Minutes of Stockholders, June 18, 1896, p. 45; Huntingdon County, Miscellaneous Book, XI, 256 (September 14, 1896).

⁵² Juniata College, *Catalogue* (1897-98), 44.

⁵³ *USRCE*, 1898-1899, II, 1626-27.

⁵⁴ College and University Council, "Biennial Report on Higher Education in Pennsylvania," *PRSPI*, 1904, p. 609.

divided Eastern Pennsylvania into districts to be covered by committees of trustees for the purpose of soliciting aid and funds for the proposed college.⁵⁵ Although the initial experiences were by no means heartening (individual trustees reported "Not much encouragement. Some opposition. No money yet"⁵⁶), the board persisted in its efforts and in September, 1899, obtained a charter from the Court of Common Pleas of Lancaster County.⁵⁷

The charter established Elizabethtown College "for the purpose of giving such harmonious development to the Physical, Mental, and moral powers of both sexes as will fit them for the duties of life, and promote their spiritual interests,—and instruction shall be given in three departments, Viz:—Bible, Collegiate, Academic." Control of the corporation was vested in the German Baptist Brethren church comprising the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. There was no provision in the charter for the granting of degrees.⁵⁸

By the close of the century, the corporation had received a gift of twelve acres of land upon which the trustees had agreed to proceed with the erection of a building "provided it does not cost more than \$10,000."⁵⁹ A faculty of three was elected, and the college held its opening exercises on November 13, 1900.⁶⁰

Curriculum offerings at the outset were of a secondary-school nature, corresponding to the limitations imposed by the charter.⁶¹ In 1904, however, the institution announced a four-year "Classical Course" leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree as well as a "Teacher-training Course" for which the degree of Bachelor of Pedagogics was offered.⁶² The following year a two-year "English Scientific Course" was instituted, rewarding the successful candidate with the degree of Bachelor of English.⁶³ It was not until 1911 that the school publicly recognized the legal prohibitions affecting its operations, when it acknowledged that:

⁵⁵ Elizabethtown College, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 16, 1899, pp. 8-9. These minutes are preserved in the President's Office, Elizabethtown College, Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, August 16, 1899, p. 14.

⁵⁷ Lancaster County, Charter Book, II, 109 (September 23, 1899), Courthouse, Lancaster.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Elizabethtown College, Minutes of Trustees, I, August 15, October 3, 1899, pp. 13, 18.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, June 11, November 13, 1900, pp. 30, 39.

⁶¹ Elizabethtown College, *Catalogue* (1900-01), 8-10.

⁶² *Ibid.* (1903-04), 11-12, 19.

⁶³ *Ibid.* (1904-05), 11-12.

Although the College is not legally empowered to confer the Baccalaureate Degree in Arts, it offers a complete and standard curriculum in the liberal arts, that has been recognized by several accredited colleges in Pennsylvania as meeting the usual requirements of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. The College having affiliated itself with these institutions, students who complete this course of study may present their credits and receive their degree from the other institutions.⁶⁴

Evidently desirous of obtaining full collegiate status for the institution, the trustees, at the urging of the faculty (1919), resolved to meet the requirements of law by obtaining an endowment of \$500,000 and by employing six full-time professors.⁶⁵ Within two years, these objectives were realized, and application was made for an amendment to the charter.⁶⁶ The State Council of Education approved the change December 21, 1921, and the next month the Court of Common Pleas of Lancaster County amended the charter, empowering the college to confer degrees "in art, pure and applied science, philosophy, literature and theology, but not including law or medicine."⁶⁷

Consistent with its newly acquired rank the institution offered four-year college curriculums culminating in the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Science degrees.⁶⁸ The following year (1923), upon the recommendation of the faculty, the trustees ratified "the Senior class for graduation with the Baccalaureate degree."⁶⁹ So far as the records bear testimony, these were the first such degrees to be conferred by Elizabethtown College.⁷⁰

Central Pennsylvania College. The lack of an educational institution under the aegis of the church, led the West Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Association at its meeting of March 3, 1854, to resolve to establish a school to be known as the Union Seminary

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* (1910-11), 15.

⁶⁵ Elizabethtown College, Minutes of Trustees, I, January 2, February 21, 1919, pp. 226, 227-29.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, January 4, 1921, p. 249.

⁶⁷ Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction, *Statistics of the Public Schools, 1919-1920, 1920-1921*, p. 1728; Elizabethtown College, Minutes of Trustees, I, January 3, 1922, pp. 263-64; Lancaster County, Charter Book, IV, 571 (January 14, 1922).

⁶⁸ Elizabethtown College, *Catalogue* (1922-23), 37-38.

⁶⁹ Elizabethtown College, Minutes of Trustees, I, April 17, 1923, p. 277.

⁷⁰ In an interview with President A. C. Baugher at the college June 3, 1952, he stated that the first legal baccalaureate degrees were conferred by the institution in 1922 and that it was in that year that he received his A.B. degree.

of the West Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Association.⁷¹ Earlier in that same year an article had appeared in the *Evangelical Messenger* urging the East and West Pennsylvania conferences to found a seminary at New Berlin, Pennsylvania.⁷² The author of the article, the Reverend W. W. Orwig, was elected the president of the board of trustees and the first principal of the projected seminary.⁷³ Orwig decried the manifest indifference of the church membership to education. In a statement published in 1857 he declared that few branches of the Christian church had suffered so much from prejudice against education as had the Evangelical Association. As a consequence, Orwig stated, it was difficult for the church to find enough capable men to supply the periodicals, books, and tracts that it needed.⁷⁴

With the appointment of the board of trustees, the plans for the seminary moved rapidly towards consummation. Funds were raised and lots totaling six acres were purchased on the north side of New Berlin.⁷⁵ A charter was obtained from the Court of Common Pleas of Union County (1855) establishing The Union Seminary of the East and West Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Association in the United States of America.⁷⁶ At the same time it was announced that the school would open January 3, 1856.⁷⁷

Essentially an academy "with no regular course of instruction . . . the students selecting the branches which they wished to study,"⁷⁸ the seminary persisted until 1880, when a new charter was obtained empowering the institution "to confer degrees in the Arts and Sciences upon those whose merits and attainments shall entitle them to the same."⁷⁹ Although formal courses of study were adopted promising students who completed "the Classical and Scientific Course . . . the degree of Bachelor of Science," the school made no claims of giving its students a full collegiate education. Rather, it described its offerings as "intermediate between the regular academic and collegiate

⁷¹ F. W. Gingrich, "History of Union Seminary and Central Pennsylvania College" (Unpublished and undated typewritten manuscript in President's Office, Albright College, Reading, Pennsylvania), 1.

⁷² *Evangelical Messenger*, VIII (January 4, 1854), 11.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, IX (May 16, 1855), 67.

⁷⁴ *Der Christliche Botschafter*, XXII (February 25, 1857), p. 33.

⁷⁵ Gingrich, "History of Union Seminary and Central Pennsylvania College," II.

⁷⁶ Union County, Deed Book, "P", 584 (December 17, 1855), Courthouse, Lewisburg.

⁷⁷ *Evangelical Messenger*, IX (November 28, 1855), 188.

⁷⁸ Central Pennsylvania College, *Catalogue* (1886-87), 22.

⁷⁹ Union County, Deed Book, "Z", 422 (September 20, 1880).

course."⁸⁰ Advancement to full college rank was deferred until 1887,⁸¹ when the seminary changed its name to Central Pennsylvania College⁸² and published four-year "Classical" and "Scientific" courses, leading respectively to the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Science degrees, and a three-year "Normal" course for which the Bachelor of Elements degree was to be conferred.⁸³

Students may have matriculated in the classical course, but there is no evidence that any graduated or that the college ever conferred the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Two students were awarded the Bachelor of Science degree in 1889.⁸⁴ These, so far as available records reveal, may have been the only degrees granted by Central Pennsylvania College. Controversy split the Evangelical Association in the 1890's. During the conflict, according to its president, the school "struggled along heroically . . . but now . . . is exhausted."⁸⁵ It survived a few years longer and was merged with Albright College at Myerstown, Pennsylvania, in 1902.⁸⁶

Schuylkill College. The efforts of the West Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Association to erect an institution of higher learning, culminating in the establishment of Central Pennsylvania College, have already been noted. Similarly, the East Pennsylvania Conference, imbued with a like purpose, founded a seminary in Reading, Pennsylvania, on August 19, 1881.⁸⁷ The following year the school was chartered by the Court of Common Pleas of Berks County as the

⁸⁰ Union Seminary, *Catalogue* (1881-82), 13, 18.

⁸¹ Circular letter of President Aaron E. Gobble, Central Pennsylvania College (specific year not indicated in letter; printed copy in Albright College Library); *USRCE, 1887-1888*, pp. 673, 692, 709.

⁸² Union County, Deed Book, "EE", 52 (June 10, 1887).

⁸³ Central Pennsylvania College, *Catalogue* (1886-87), 111.

⁸⁴ *USRCE, 1888-1889*, II, 1217.

⁸⁵ Circular letter of President Aaron E. Gobble.

⁸⁶ College and University Council, "Biennial Report on Higher Education in Pennsylvania," *PRSPI, 1902*, p. 903; *USRCE, 1901-1902*, II, 1347; Albright College, *Catalogue* (1902-03), 46. There is no document in the county records of either Union or Lebanon counties legally substantiating the union of the two colleges. Although the charter noting the merger of Schuylkill College with Albright College in 1928 (Berks County, Charter Book, X, 508-16, under date of October 31, 1928, in the Courthouse, Reading) states that in "1902 Albright College and Central Pennsylvania College were duly merged under the name of Albright College and the Charter of Albright College amended in harmony with this action," there is no statement in the amendment referred to—the only amendment obtained by Albright College in 1902—signifying that a union of the two colleges took place. For this amendment, see Lebanon County, Charter Book, No. 1, pp. 60-64 (October 13, 1902), Courthouse, Lebanon.

⁸⁷ Schuylkill Seminary, *Catalogue* (1901-02), 5.

"Schuylkill Seminary of the East Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Association of North America." Its purpose, according to the charter, was to provide "for the thorough moral and literary education of persons of both sexes" through the medium of "such a course of instruction . . . as will prepare young men and young ladies to enter any of our Colleges and Universities." Despite this limited declaration of objective, the charter authorized the trustees "to issue suitable diplomas and confer literary degrees upon the recommendation of the faculty."⁸⁸

Nor did the lack of a recognized college curriculum deter the trustees from exercising their legal prerogative. In 1887 one student was granted the Bachelor of Arts degree.⁸⁹ The following year one student was awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree; two students, the Bachelor of Science degree; and one student, the Bachelor of English Elements degree.⁹⁰ Intermittently, such degrees continued to be conferred upon graduates on the basis of an admittedly college preparatory course.⁹¹

In 1902 the trustees described Schuylkill Seminary as a school of higher grade and expressed the hope that it would gradually mature into a college.⁹² Ten years later they submitted as testimony of the scholastic excellence of the institution, "the fact that reputable colleges and universities of Pennsylvania admit our graduates into the Freshman and Sophomore years according to the course of study which the graduate has completed."⁹³ Beginning with the year 1914, the trustees appointed a committee "to consider the advisability of extending the curriculum of our seminary so as to include studies required by the grade of a Junior College."⁹⁴ However, it was not before 1916 that the faculty could report that they were ready to extend the courses "to cover the work of the first two years of our best classical colleges. . . ."⁹⁵

Desirous of achieving senior-college status for the institution, the trustees in 1921 appealed to the citizens of Reading to authorize and support a campaign for the securing of an endowment that would

⁸⁸ Berks County, Charter Book, III, 206 (June 12, 1882).

⁸⁹ Schuylkill Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, B, June 21, 1887, p. 8. These minutes are preserved in President's Office, Albright College.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1888, p. 16.

⁹¹ Schuylkill Seminary, Minutes of Executive Committee of Trustees, May 18, 1916, p. 31; May 22, 1917, p. 49, President's Office, Albright College.

⁹² Schuylkill Seminary, *Catalogue* (1901-02), 6-7.

⁹³ *Ibid.* (1910-11), 38.

⁹⁴ Schuylkill Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, B, June 15, 1914, p. 202.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1916, p. 219.

satisfy one of the legal requirements for State recognition.⁹⁶ At the same time they announced the discontinuance of the awarding of degrees by the junior college "until we are able to give a four year college course."⁹⁷ The campaign was successful, and a resolution of appreciation was passed thanking the citizens of Reading for their generosity in raising the endowment fund.⁹⁸ Further, since the trustees now deemed the institution adequately endowed and otherwise qualified to be chartered as a college, a petition was authorized to be submitted to the Court of Common Pleas asking that the word "College" be substituted for "Seminary" and the making of "such other amendments as may be necessary to secure the right to confer degrees in Liberal Arts and Science Courses."⁹⁹ On May 29, 1923, the State Council of Education approved the charter amendments, and the Court of Common Pleas issued its final decree July 2, 1923, incorporating the changes in the charter.¹⁰⁰

Changes in curriculum were now rapidly effected. A four-year college course of study was announced.¹⁰¹ Yet, despite its having finally achieved recognized status as a four-year degree-granting college and, as such, having conferred its first Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees,¹⁰² Schuylkill College was not destined to enjoy independent status much longer. An invitation from the trustees of Albright College recommending the appointment of a committee to discuss the educational program of the Evangelical church was favorably received.¹⁰³ On February 15, 1928, the trustees agreed to the proposed charter for uniting the two colleges; and in the same year, with the approval of the State Council of Education, a new corporation was created at Reading called Albright College.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, C, February 16, 1921, p. 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1921, p. 8.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, June 13, 1922, p. 18.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, February 16, 1923, p. 28.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1923, p. 34; Pennsylvania, Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Statistical Report* [1923-1924], 1331, 1332. Possibly because of some oversight, the charter amendment of July 2, 1923, was not recorded in the county records. A later amendment in 1926 refers to and attests to the charter changes of July 2, 1923. Berks County, Charter Book, X, 74-76 (February 11, 1926).

¹⁰¹ Schuylkill College, *Catalogue* (1923-24), 12-14.

¹⁰² Schuylkill College, Minutes of Trustees, C, June 17, 1924, p. 46. Preserved in President's Office, Albright College.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, June 8, 1927, pp. 85-86.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, February 15, 1928, p. 96; *PRSPI*, [1928-1930], 168, 195; Berks County, Charter Book, X, 508-16 (November 5, 1928).

Albright College. Controversy in the Evangelical Association between those who advocated strong centralization of power in the hands of the bishops and the ministry and those who advocated a more democratic idea of church government led to a separation of the two groups into the Evangelical Association and the United Evangelical Church.¹⁰⁵ Albright College was a by-product of this schism. In 1895 the entire faculty and the boarding students of Schuylkill Seminary left the school, moved to Myerstown, and under the aegis of the United Evangelical Church, took over the buildings, equipment, and campus of what was formerly Palatinate College.¹⁰⁶

A charter was obtained on May 27, 1895, from the Court of Common Pleas of Lebanon County, incorporating "The Albright Collegiate Institute" of the East Pennsylvania Conference of the United Evangelical Church "for the thorough moral and literary education of persons of both sexes." The charter provided that "The Doctrines as set forth in the Discipline of the United Evangelical Church shall be regularly taught, her worship and usages shall be carefully preserved, and her spirit faithfully cherished." Authority was invested in the trustees "to confer degrees and issue suitable diplomas to persons recommended by the Faculty."¹⁰⁷ In 1898 the charter was amended changing the name of the school from Albright Collegiate Institute to Albright College.¹⁰⁸

Though the curriculum adopted during the first year of its independent existence (1895) was designed "to give the best preparation to the increasing class of young men and women who desire to enter the freshman, sophomore or junior class of a good college," degrees were nevertheless offered "to those who finish any of the regular courses of study."¹⁰⁹ The absence of college records for the period under consideration makes it impossible to determine whether degrees were conferred by the institution.¹¹⁰ Reports of the United States Com-

¹⁰⁵ Circular letter of Aaron E. Gobble.

¹⁰⁶ Albright Collegiate Institute, *Catalogue* (1895-96), 6; College and University Council, "Biennial Report on Higher Education in Pennsylvania," *PRSPI*, 1904, pp. 602-603. For a discussion of Palatinate College, see *infra*, 596-97.

¹⁰⁷ Lebanon County, Miscellaneous Docket R, 569-73 (May 27, 1895), Courthouse, Lebanon.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Miscellaneous Docket S, 618-50 (September 19, 1898).

¹⁰⁹ Albright Collegiate Institute, *Catalogue* (1895-96), 17-18, 21.

¹¹⁰ There are no minutes either of trustees or of the faculty for Albright College prior to its merger with Central Pennsylvania College in 1902. Only one minute book of the executive committee of the trustees exists, covering the period from March 26, 1902, to June 4, 1913. This is preserved in the President's Office, Albright College. Catalogue files are also incomplete.

missioner of Education which contain such data and which list Albright College in its "statistics of universities and colleges" in 1898 for the first time fail to indicate the awarding of degrees by the school.¹¹¹

Following Albright College's union with Central Pennsylvania College in 1902,¹¹² the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction announced that the combined college now possessed sufficient endowment and assets to meet one of the legal requirements for recognition as a senior college and that "it is expected that regular college classes with a full faculty and good equipment will be maintained. . . ."¹¹³ In the same year a four-year classical course of study was published.¹¹⁴

Four students were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree at the commencement of June 18, 1903, on the basis of having successfully completed this course of study.¹¹⁵ A year later Albright College was recognized as a senior college by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.¹¹⁶ Prior to this, it had been listed among the State's secondary schools in the reports of the superintendent.

The eventual resolution of the controversy, which had split the Evangelical Association in the 1890's and resulted in the formation of the United Evangelical Church, stimulated a movement towards reunification, culminating in the merger of the two churches in 1922 into the Evangelical Church and in the approval of the merger by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1927.¹¹⁷ With the healing of the church schism, the path was paved for uniting the two colleges representing the formerly antagonistic factions. Schuylkill College, the creation of the Evangelical Association, and Albright College, the product of the United Evangelical Church, were combined in 1928 under the name of Albright College.¹¹⁸ In 1951 the new charter was amended changing the name to "Albright College of the Evangelical United Brethren Church."¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ *USRCE, 1898-1899*, II, 1626-27.

¹¹² *Supra*, 153.

¹¹³ College and University Council, "Biennial Report on Higher Education in Pennsylvania," *PRSPI*, 1902, p. 903.

¹¹⁴ Albright College, *Catalogue* (1902-03), 11-16.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* (1903-04), 52.

¹¹⁶ College and University Council, "Biennial Report on Higher Education in Pennsylvania," *PRSPI*, 1904, pp. 618-19.

¹¹⁷ Berks County, Charter Book, X, 508-16 (November 5, 1928).

¹¹⁸ *Supra*, 155.

¹¹⁹ Berks County, Charter Book, XIV, 660-69 (January 19, 1951).

CHAPTER VII

The Methodists and Higher Education

1. BACKGROUND

The Methodists were more successful in infusing new life into higher educational institutions begun by others than they were in maintaining those they initiated. Concerning the former, the transfer of Dickinson and Allegheny colleges to their control has been noted.¹ As for the latter, of the colleges for whose birth they were responsible, only one has survived, and that acquired recognized collegiate status quite recently.

Considering the fact the denomination was quite prolific in establishing individual churches throughout the State,² its relative inactivity with respect to secondary schools³ and higher education appears surprising. Perhaps a partial explanation for this phenomenon lies in the failure of the Methodists (during the formative years of the church's existence) to demand a highly trained clergy.⁴

2. COLLEGES

Madison College. As the third institution of college rank established by American Methodism, Madison College—like its two predecessors, Cokesbury College in Abingdon, Maryland, founded in 1787 and destroyed by fire in 1795, and Augusta College, Kentucky, chartered in 1822 and abandoned in the 1840's—was destined to suffer a spasmodic existence, a series of resuscitative measures, and a final demise.⁵ The college had its origins in a resolution of the Pittsburgh Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1825) appointing

¹ *Supra*, 66, 78-79.

² By 1870 the Methodists were reported to have more churches in Pennsylvania than any other denomination. See United States, *Ninth Census* (1870), I, *Population* (Washington, 1872), 552.

³ Mulhern, *Secondary Education*, 247.

⁴ Wickersham, *History of Education*, 120; Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War* (New York, 1932), 90, 111.

⁵ Wallace G. Smeltzer, *Methodism on the Headwaters of the Ohio* (Nashville, 1951), 162.

Henry B. Bascom a missionary "to ascertain the probable amount of funds requisite for the establishment of a Seminary of learning, and the most eligible site therefor." Bascom's report was adopted in 1826, Uniontown was fixed upon as the site, and committees were appointed to make arrangements for a building and to secure the success of the proposed institution.⁶ In a letter to former President James Madison on March 13, 1827, Bascom informed him that the trustees had taken the liberty of naming the college after him. Madison replied on March 27, 1827, that he was honored by the action of the trustees.⁷

The State legislature was successfully petitioned (1827) for a charter to establish Madison College in the borough of Uniontown, Fayette County, "for the education of youth, in the various branches of science and literature, the useful arts, agriculture and the learned and foreign languages." A board of trustees, not to exceed forty in number, was empowered, in conjunction with the faculty of the college, to grant "such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences . . . as are usually conferred and granted in other colleges of the United States. . . ."⁸ Cognizant of the need for providing a minimal material base upon which to establish the institution, the legislature in this act of incorporation vested in the trustees of Madison College the property of Union Academy, Uniontown. The academy had originally been chartered by the General Assembly on February 4, 1808.⁹

Perhaps the most unusual feature of the charter was contained in the provision permitting the trustees to have an agricultural department in addition to the regular college program.¹⁰ *Hazard's Register*, in announcing the chartering of the college, noted particularly that this was "among the objects of this institution."¹¹ The idea for such a department had been projected originally by Henry Bascom, the first president of Madison College. In a letter to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, he informed him that he had named the department the "Carroll Institute of Agriculture." Carroll acknowledged the "dis-

⁶ "Historical Sketch," *Pittsburgh Conference Minutes, M. E. Church, Spring Session* (1876) (Pittsburgh, 1876), 62.

⁷ M. M. Henkle, *The Life of Henry Bidleman Bascom, D.D., LL.D.* (Louisville, 1854), 190, 191. One source, James Hadden, *A History of Uniontown, the County Seat of Fayette County, Pennsylvania* (Uniontown, 1913), 485, maintains the college was named in honor of Dr. James Madison, an early bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church in Virginia and a president of the College of William and Mary.

⁸ Act of March 7, 1827, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1826-1827*, p. 79.

⁹ Bioren, *Laws*, VIII, 390.

¹⁰ Act of March 7, 1827, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1826-1827*, p. 79.

¹¹ *Hazard's Register*, IV (1829), 296.

tinguished honor," and deemed it "indeed surprising that the college should be the first to establish a professorship for teaching and diffusing the science of agriculture so essential to the welfare of every country, particularly to the United States."¹²

Following the receipt of the charter, the trustees held their first meeting June 30, 1827, and proceeded to the election of a faculty. The Reverend Henry B. Bascom was chosen to fill the office of principal and professor of moral science, comprising mental and moral philosophy, natural theology, Christian ethics and evidences of Christianity; the Reverend Charles Elliott was elected professor of languages, and John A. Fielding was appointed professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. At a later meeting the board elected John Lyon as professor of rhetoric and belles lettres and Hugh Campbell, M.D., as professor of chemistry, including both agriculture and botany. It was announced that the college would open September 15, 1827.¹³

Ostensibly free of those hazards of birth to which its contemporaries were subject, Madison College enjoyed a prosperous and successful beginning. The legislature appropriated \$5,000 for its support.¹⁴ At the close of the first session the Committee on Education reported to the General Conference of the church (1828) that there were 107 students, 45 of whom were engaged in studying the languages and corresponding branches of a collegiate education, and that the number of students was rapidly increasing. Good boarding, including fuel and lights, could be had for one dollar and twenty-five cents per week. The price of tuition varied from eight to twenty dollars per annum. The institution is not in debt; and "judging from its present appearances, it is destined to contribute its share of instruction to the rising generation." They shared in the confidence of the faculty and board of trustees "that nothing but prudence and energy are necessary to secure final success."¹⁵

The promise of the first session was not to be fulfilled. The college was unable to maintain a full faculty, and in 1829 Dr. Bascom resigned the presidency.¹⁶ With the assumption of control of Allegheny College by the Pittsburgh Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1832, the institution was deprived of its main support and was

¹² Quoted in Henkle, *Bascom*, 194.

¹³ Hadden, *Uniontown*, 486.

¹⁴ Act of February 27, 1828, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1827-1828*, p. 121.

¹⁵ *Methodist Magazine*, XI (1828), 275.

¹⁶ Smeltzer, *Methodism*, 163; Hadden, *Uniontown*, 490.

forced to suspend operations in that year.¹⁷ At the time of its closing the college had about sixty students.¹⁸

According to Bascom's biographer there were a number of strong counteracting circumstances that rendered impotent Bascom's zeal and perseverance to establish the college on a permanent basis. The endowment was trifling in amount, the local patronage was limited, and that from a distance still more so. Above all, the church controversy was then at its height and partisan differences were too severe to permit of harmony in supporting an institution which each feared might fall into the hands of the other.¹⁹

An attempt was made to revive the institution (under the influence of the Cumberland Presbyterians) about the year 1834 by the election of J. P. Weethee, a Cumberland Presbyterian minister, to the presidency.²⁰ During the early years of Weethee's incumbency the school was a college in name only. In their first report to the Superintendent of Common Schools (1837) the trustees listed one male and one female tutor and stated that the college "is now and has been for several years since occupied as a school; divided into two departments, male and female. Pupils that have received their education in the Male department have since been teachers in the Common Schools, and others are preparing for the same purpose."²¹ By 1840, however, the faculty had been expanded to include professorships in mathematics, moral science, natural science, and languages; and the college had students in the senior, junior, sophomore, and freshman classes. In September of the same year, at the annual commencement, the two seniors were awarded their degrees.²²

¹⁷ *Supra*, 78-79; Smeltzer, *Methodism*, 163-64; Hadden, *Uniontown*, 491.

¹⁸ Thomas F. Gordon, *A Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1832), 459.

¹⁹ Henkle, *Bascom*, 197.

²⁰ J. P. Weethee, "Madison, Beverly, and Waynesburg Colleges: A Review of Dr. Miller's Sketch," *Theological Medium*, XIV (July, 1878), 344; A. B. Miller, "Historical Sketch of Waynesburg College, Waynesburg, Pennsylvania," *ibid.*, XIV (January, 1878), 65; Hadden, *Uniontown*, 497. The articles by Weethee and Miller will be cited hereafter as Weethee, "Madison, Beverly, and Waynesburg Colleges" and Miller, "Waynesburg College."

²¹ "Fourth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, Academies and Colleges," Pennsylvania, *House Journal, 1837-1838*, II, 607-608.

²² Hadden, *Uniontown*, 494-95; Miller, "Waynesburg College," 65. So far as the writer has been able to determine, these were the first degrees in course conferred by Madison College.

Although the college appears to have been in a flourishing condition in 1840 and 1841,²³ a serious rift occurred between President Weethee and the board of trustees in the spring of 1842, which resulted in the resignation of the entire faculty.²⁴ According to Hadden, the rupture between Weethee and the trustees was precipitated by the president's espousal of the doctrines of the Reverend William Miller, who promulgated the theory that Jesus Christ would appear in 1843 for a second time.²⁵

Of particular significance during this period of the college's hazardous existence was the inauguration of the policy to admit women to the regular college classes. Writing in defense of his administration, President Weethee declared that the following question was brought (1839) before the board of trustees: "Are females, matriculated and pursuing a college course, students in the eyes of the Law? The board decided that they were, and the State Treasurer, Dr. Daniel Sturgeon . . . confirmed the decision. It was, perhaps, the first co-educational college in the Union."²⁶

The resignation of Weethee and the faculty marked the close of the first period of Cumberland Presbyterian control of the college. Though there was no formal connection between the controlling bodies of the church and the college, the president and a majority of the faculty were ministers of the Cumberland Presbyterian church and many of the college's social and cultural functions were held within the church.²⁷ Further, President Weethee, in summing up his experience as head of Madison College, stated: "I was associated with the principal educational efforts of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in the North."²⁸

²³ B. W. McDonnold, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Nashville, 1888), 529; Hadden, *Uniontown*, 496; Weethee, "Madison, Beverly, and Waynesburg Colleges," 344.

²⁴ Miller, "Waynesburg College," 66; McDonnold, *Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, 530; Weethee, "Madison, Beverly, and Waynesburg Colleges," 345.

²⁵ Hadden, *Uniontown*, 496-97.

²⁶ Weethee, "Madison, Beverly, and Waynesburg Colleges," 345-46. Weethee apparently was not cognizant of Oberlin College's prior claim to this distinction.

²⁷ Miller, "Waynesburg College," 66. Compare William B. Lacey, *An Address on the Best Process of Scholastic Instruction, Delivered in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Before the Faculty, Students, and Friends of Madison College, Uniontown, Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1838), 1; McDonnold, *Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, 528.

²⁸ Weethee, "Madison, Beverly, and Waynesburg Colleges," 346.

With the departure of Weethee and the faculty the college was again thrown into chaos.²⁹ A new president was chosen, but small enrollments and dissatisfaction with his administration by trustees and citizens of Uniontown impelled him to resign after a short period of two years.³⁰ In 1844 the Pennsylvania Synod of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church offered to assume the patronage of the college and to endow it, provided the synod were given the power to nominate the faculty, to fill all vacancies in the board of trustees, to determine the salaries of the teachers, and to "control . . . all monies raised by the C. P. Church for educational purposes."³¹

Apparently their overtures to the college trustees were successful, for the following year the synod's committee on education reported that the trustees of Madison College had accepted the synod's propositions of 1844; that the institution had been in operation for the last six months; and that the board of trustees had, on the nomination of the synod's board of education, "appointed the Rev. Azel Freeman professor of antient [*sic*] languages and John N. Lewis professor of Mathematics and the other branches usually connected with that chair."³² The synod, however, did not fulfill its promise to raise an endowment. Professor Freeman declared that "the College (if such it ought to be called)" was only partially organized, "with no president, no female department, and with only a feeble and faint-hearted co-operation on the part of the Synod."³³ It probably occasioned no surprise, consequently, when the synod adopted a report of its committee on education in 1846, which noted the failure of efforts to resuscitate Madison College and which recommended that the synod "resign all connection with the College arising from any grant or action of the Board of Trustees."³⁴

A final attempt to revive the college was made by the board of trustees in 1850, by placing it under the control of the Methodist Protestant church. The general conference of that church held at Baltimore, Maryland, May 7, 1850, accepted the offer of the trustees, and the institution was reopened in September, 1851.³⁵ For six years

²⁹ Hadden, *Uniontown*, 497.

³⁰ Miller, "Waynesburg College," 66.

³¹ Records of the Pennsylvania Synod of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Minutes of October 21, 1844, in Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

³² *Ibid.*, Minutes of October 16, 1845.

³³ Miller, "Waynesburg College," 70.

³⁴ Records of the Pennsylvania Synod of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Minutes of October 17, 1846, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

³⁵ Hadden, *Uniontown*, 500-501; Smeltzer, *Methodism*, 164.

the college had a troubled existence. Difficulties arose between students and faculty.³⁶ Efforts to raise a permanent endowment fund were unavailing.³⁷ Sectional differences arose over the question of slavery, and the entire faculty resigned at commencement time in 1855. It was announced that arrangements had been made to open a new Methodist Protestant college at Lynchburg, Virginia, in the fall, and the southern teachers left, taking with them eighty-three students out of a student body of about one hundred. George Brown was induced to assume the presidency of the board of trustees, and the Pennsylvania institution opened in the fall of 1855 with a northern faculty and about sixty students. The following year there were forty students and a heavily mounting indebtedness. The college was closed in the fall of 1857, and the property was sold at a "judicial sale" to pay the debts.³⁸

Lycoming College. Conceived as a preparatory school for Dickinson College, Lycoming College, as Dickinson Seminary, derived its existence from an agreement between a committee representing the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the town council of the borough of Williamsport, Pennsylvania.³⁹ The school was opened September 14, 1848, with a course of study embracing three years and "designed to qualify students for teaching in any High School or Academy—for any department of business, or for admission to any college."⁴⁰ Shortly after the school's opening, the legislature granted the trustees a charter which contained essentially those features that were incorporated into the articles of agreement with the town council of Williamsport.⁴¹

Despite an increasing student enrollment, the seminary was early burdened with mounting debts that resisted all trustee efforts at their liquidation.⁴² Attempts to raise funds by organizing a stock company (1854), with the seminary building representing the capital assets, and by obtaining subscriptions from the citizens of the borough of

³⁶ Uniontown *Genius of Liberty*, May 20, 1852.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, March 16, 30, 1854; Hadden, *Uniontown*, 504.

³⁸ Act of March 27, 1862, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1862*, p. 199; George Brown, *Recollections of Itinerant Life* (Cincinnati, 1866), Chapters XVIII and XXI.

³⁹ Dickinson Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, I, January 5, 1848, pp. 1-4. These are preserved in the business office of Lycoming College, Williamsport, Pennsylvania.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, April 27, September 7, 1848, pp. 7, 11; Dickinson Seminary, *Catalogue* (1848-49), 12-13.

⁴¹ Act of February 19, 1849, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1850*, p. 934.

⁴² Dickinson Seminary, *Catalogue* (1848-49), 11; Dickinson Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, I, October 24, 1854, p. 164.

Williamsport (1858) were unsuccessful.⁴³ In 1860 the building was sold at sheriff's sale.⁴⁴

Intent on keeping the school alive, the purchasers in the same year offered the property to the East Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A joint stock company composed of members of the conference was formed, and the conference resolved that the new institution, the Williamsport Dickinson Seminary, was worthy of their patronage and support.⁴⁵ At the same time, the legislature gave the enterprise legal status by granting a charter to Williamsport Dickinson Seminary.⁴⁶

The act of incorporation established a joint stock company with a capital stock of \$17,500, in shares of \$100 each, with power to increase the capital stock. A board of nine directors, elected annually by the stockholders, was charged with the management of the institution. Six of the nine directors were required to be members of the Methodist Episcopal church, and the president of the board of instruction was to be an itinerant minister of the church, approved by the presiding bishop of the East Baltimore Annual Conference. Finally, the charter declared it "lawful for the board of instruction, by and with the advice and consent of the said board of directors, to confer the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, [and] Master of Arts. . . ."⁴⁷

Problems of finances, which had so beset the trustees of Dickinson Seminary, were evidently solved by the directors of the new institution. In fact, prosperity seemed to mark the progress of the current administration. So large a surplus of income after expenditures had accumulated, that the directors were able to declare a dividend of 3 per cent to the stockholders in 1861, and a 4 per cent dividend in 1863.⁴⁸

Little time was lost in utilizing the degree-conferring powers granted by the charter. On the basis of a three-year course of study, identical in every respect with the curriculum offered by its predecessor for which no degree was granted, the institution conferred the Bachelor

⁴³ *Ibid.*, October 26, 1854, pp. 164-65; July 12, October 28, 1858, pp. 231, 240.

⁴⁴ Act of March 26, 1860, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1860*, p. 263.

⁴⁵ *Minutes of the Third Session of the East Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held in Lewisburg, Pa., February 29-March 8, 1860* (Baltimore, 1860), 42.

⁴⁶ Act of March 26, 1860, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1860*, p. 263.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Williamsport Dickinson Seminary, *Minutes of Directors*, I, June 18, 1861, p. 25; June 24, 1863, p. 44. These minutes are preserved in the business office of Lycoming College.

of Arts degree on eleven graduates of the class of 1861, and retroactively on ten graduates of the class of 1860.⁴⁹

Throughout the nineteenth century and during the first decade of the twentieth century, Williamsport Dickinson Seminary continued to confer degrees on those of its graduates who pursued three-year courses of study that differed little from the curriculum of 1858 and 1861.⁵⁰ In 1913, however, the University Senate of the Methodist Episcopal Church urged that the seminary discontinue the practice of conferring degrees on the grounds that the "curriculum was not up to the requirement for schools granting degrees." The directors acquiesced in the University Senate's recommendation to cease the granting of degrees after the commencement of 1914, and the institution reverted to its *de facto* status as a secondary school.⁵¹

Fifteen years later the president of the seminary proposed that a junior college course be instituted. He predicated his proposals on the following considerations: "the narrowing field in Secondary Education and keen competition therein. The crowded condition of colleges. The apparent need for the Junior College as evidenced by the action of the University of Pittsburgh and Columbia University in establishing Junior Colleges as a part of their policy."⁵² The directors concurred with the idea of the projected junior college, and on September 16, 1929, fifty students were enrolled in the first year of junior college work.⁵³ In 1934 the junior college program was accredited by the State Council of Education.⁵⁴

The "crowded condition of colleges," which induced the directors to institute a junior college program in 1929, was even more pronounced with the influx of veterans after the close of the Second

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, June 18, 1861, p. 25; Williamsport Dickinson Seminary, *Catalogue* (1861-62), 17-19; Dickinson Seminary, *Catalogue* (1858-59), 17-19. See also S. P. Bates, "Report on Dickinson Seminary, Williamsport," *Pennsylvania School Journal*, XI (April, 1863), 319-20.

⁵⁰ Williamsport Dickinson Seminary, Minutes of Directors, I, June 23, 1863, p. 36; June 21, 1864, p. 47; June 27, 1865, p. 53; June 18, 1867, p. 67; June 2, 1869, p. 82; June 27, 1878, p. 173; June 17, 1880, pp. 186-87; II, June 19, 1895, p. 10; June 15, 1899, p. 79; June 20, 1901, p. 117. Compare Williamsport Dickinson Seminary, *Catalogue* (1867-68), 15-17; *ibid.* (1874-75), 20-21; *ibid.* (1880-81), 29-30; *ibid.* (1912-13), 23-24.

⁵¹ Williamsport Dickinson Seminary, Minutes of Directors, III, April 21, June 10, 1913, pp. 95, 114-15, 122.

⁵² *Ibid.*, IV, June 11, 1928, pp. 339-40.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, October 28, 1928, pp. 363-64; October 31, 1929, p. 386; Williamsport Dickinson Seminary, *Catalogue* (1928-29), 17-19.

⁵⁴ Williamsport Dickinson Seminary, Minutes of Directors, V, October 25, 1934, p. 223.

World War. The Williamsport Dickinson Seminary was finding it increasingly difficult to obtain advanced standing for their junior college graduates in the existing four-year colleges.⁵⁵ President John W. Long, consequently, presented for the consideration of the directors the proposal for transforming Williamsport Dickinson Seminary and Junior College to a four-year college.⁵⁶ After a series of conferences with committees from Dickinson College and the University Senate of the Methodist church, bolstered by unsolicited resolutions in favor of the contemplated change by Williamsport organizations, the directors decided to institute a full four-year college curriculum and to change the name of the institution to Lycoming College.⁵⁷ On May 7, 1948, Lycoming College was approved by the State Council of Education as a four-year college with the power to confer degrees; and a charter was granted by decree of the Court of Common Pleas of Lycoming County (June 17, 1948), changing the name of the institution to Lycoming College, and empowering it to "confer the baccalaureate degrees in Arts, and in sciences; and to confer such other degrees as are authorized from time to time by the State Council of Education, or its successors."⁵⁸ The following year (June 4, 1949), Lycoming College conferred its first degrees in the arts and sciences on twenty-seven of its graduates.⁵⁹

Avery College. Founded by the Reverend Charles Avery for the purpose of providing higher educational opportunities for Negroes of both sexes, Avery College was incorporated in March, 1849, by the State legislature as Allegheny Institute and Mission Church. The charter declares that Charles Avery contributed a lot in Allegheny County, upon which suitable buildings were being erected, for "a college for the education of colored Americans, in the various branches of science, literature, and ancient and modern languages, in connection with a church for the use and occupancy of people of color. . . ." Such "buildings or apartments belonging to said corporation, appropriated and dedicated for the purposes of religious worship," were forever to be devoted to the use of Allegheny City Congregation of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion's church in America.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, September 3, October 17, 1946, pp. 138, 143.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, June 1, September 19, 1946, pp. 131, 139.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, October 17, 1946, p. 143; January 28, October 23, 1947, pp. 162, 195.

⁵⁸ *PRSPI*, 1948, pp. 9-10; Lycoming County, Charter Book, No. 4, pp. 236-39 (June 17, 1948).

⁵⁹ Lycoming College, Minutes of Directors, VI, June 4, 1949, p. 255.

⁶⁰ Act of March 20, 1849, Pennsylvania, *Laws*, 1849, p. 232.

A board of nine trustees, at least one-third of whom were always to be white citizens of the Commonwealth, were to manage and direct the corporation. The faculty, by and with the consent of the trustees, were to have the power "to grant and confirm such degrees in the arts and sciences . . . as are granted in other colleges in the United States. . . ." No pupil was to be barred from the institution, or denied its privileges or immunities, because of sentiments of religion. However, no person was declared to be eligible for office, "either as a trustee, president, professor or teacher, who is not a professor of christianity."⁶¹ In March, 1858, the legislature amended the charter, changing the name of the institution from Allegheny Institute and Mission Church to Avery College.⁶²

In accordance with the provisions of the charter, a three-story building was erected, the first and second being devoted to education and the third to religious exercises.⁶³ The original design of the founder was to furnish a complete college course of Latin, Greek, mathematics, and sciences; and, in order to qualify students for this curriculum, he established a preparatory school with two instructors, the Reverend Philotus Dean, white, senior professor, and Martin H. Freeman, B.A., Negro, junior professor. Before the college department was in actual operation, Mr. Avery died in 1858.⁶⁴

There is little evidence that the institution offered instruction beyond the secondary level or that it ever conferred degrees upon any of its graduates. In only one source of a primary nature is it listed as a college. For the first time Avery College is included in the "Statistics of Colleges and Collegiate Departments in the United States" of the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1871. However, aside from the name and location of the institution, no data are given as to the number of students, the number of professors, the degrees conferred upon graduates, or other information that would indicate a college in operation.⁶⁵ The following year Avery College was included among those colleges "from which no information has been received."⁶⁶ Finally, in 1873 the report noted the institution as being "suspended."⁶⁷ Confirmation of the college's closing is contained in

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Act of March 5, 1858, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1859*, p. 797.

⁶³ Erasmus Wilson (ed.), *Standard History of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1898), 517.

⁶⁴ *People's Monthly*, I (July, 1871), 17-18; Wilson, *Pittsburg*, 517.

⁶⁵ *USRCE, 1871*, p. 646.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1872, p. 791.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1873, p. 683.

the minutes of the executive committee of the trustees of the University of Pittsburgh for 1873, in that the trustees considered the possibility of purchasing the Avery College property.⁶⁸

Though the college was terminated,⁶⁹ the trustees continued to function as benefactors of Negro education by distributing Avery's estate in accordance with the provisions of his will, and particularly by making appropriations to normal schools in the various states for the education of Negro teachers.⁷⁰ Further, there is evidence as late as the first decade of the twentieth century that the trustees were desirous of preserving the powers granted to them by the charter of 1849 and of maintaining their identity as independent educators. In 1908 the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County granted their petition for charter amendment and empowered them to establish a hospital and training school for nurses to be known as the "Andrew Carnegie Training School and Hospital of Avery College."⁷¹ Two years later the court again amended the charter, changing the name of the hospital and school for nurses to the "Lincoln Memorial Training School and Hospital of Avery College."⁷²

University of Northern Pennsylvania. Evidently designed to provide for the northern part of the State the kind of educational opportunity offered by the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Northern Pennsylvania, located at Bethany, Wayne County, was chartered in March, 1848 by act of the General Assembly. The charter established a board of trustees and a faculty, who were empowered to confer "such degrees, medical or academical, in the liberal arts and sciences, or in certain branches thereof, as have been usually granted in other universities. . . ." The legislature reserved the right "to alter or annul this charter in case of any abuse of the privileges hereby granted."⁷³

⁶⁸ University of Pittsburgh, Minutes of Executive Committee of Trustees, January 6, 1873, p. 22. These records are preserved at the University of Pittsburgh.

⁶⁹ Not one of the annual reports of the Pennsylvania Superintendent of Public Instruction or of the biennial reports on higher education of the College and University Council makes reference to or acknowledges the possible present or former existence of Avery College, despite the fact that two of the superintendent's reports, those of 1877 and 1900, were specifically devoted to historical sketches of defunct and living educational institutions in the various counties, the sketches being prepared by the respective county superintendents.

⁷⁰ *People's Monthly*, I (July, 1871), 18.

⁷¹ Allegheny County, Charter Book, No. 44, p. 30 (April 11, 1908).

⁷² *Ibid.*, No. 46, p. 54 (December 10, 1910).

⁷³ Act of March 24, 1848, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1850*, p. 870.

More than two years elapsed after the granting of the charter before the trustees were able to announce that a building had been completed sufficiently to accommodate 150 to 200 students and that the school would open December 2, 1850.⁷⁴ The instructional program of the institution at its inception was much less ambitious than that envisaged in the charter. Having secured the services of Mr. E. Curtis, "a graduate of the State Normal at Albany," as principal, the trustees proclaimed him as "competent to instruct in all the various branches necessary to fit pupils for advanced classes in College, or for usefulness in the ordinary pursuits of life." They further characterized the course of instruction as "peculiarly adapted to meet the wants of those designing to become teachers."⁷⁵

At no time in its short-lived history did the institution advance beyond the secondary level. After a term's experience the trustees announced their belief that "the Normal plan of teaching is by far the best that has yet been introduced."⁷⁶ The catalogue of 1851-52 offered the diploma of the university for the completion of a prescribed three-year "course of English studies," containing no languages, although it was announced that instruction would be given to those who desired it in the French, German, Latin, Greek, Italian, and Spanish.⁷⁷ A committee of the trustees, appointed in 1854 to attend the examination of candidates for graduation, reported that the examination, "in addition to the various branches of a common English education, embraced Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration, Meteorology, Natural, Intellectual and moral Philosophy, Chemistry and Natural Theology." They expressed pleasure over the results of the examination, and they were especially impressed with the demonstrated pupil competency in geometry and natural theology. Concerning the latter, they stated: "the existence of a God was proved, and the cavils of infidelity answered with a readiness which we have seldom seen surpassed even by the Theological students. . . ." They recommended that a "Teacher's Diploma" be awarded to Mr. Harry Brodhead and Miss E. Augusta Dart for having completed the course of instruction in the Normal Department.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Honesdale *Wayne County Herald*, November 21, 1850.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1851.

⁷⁷ University of Northern Pennsylvania, *Catalogue* (1851-52), 12-14, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

⁷⁸ Honesdale *Wayne County Herald*, April 6, 1854.

In the fall of 1854 it was announced that the Wyoming Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church had assumed the patronage of the university and that henceforth it would be conducted "upon the plan of a Conference Seminary."⁷⁹ Although teacher training still occupied a prominent place in the curriculum, with the assumption of formal control by the Methodists, there occurred a shift in emphasis from the more elementary "English" studies to the more advanced classical disciplines. A four-year "Academical Course," albeit secondary in nature, was instituted, making mandatory the study of Latin and Greek throughout all four years and the pursuit of French and German in the third and fourth years.⁸⁰ Whether this curriculum would have evolved eventually into a college course will never be known. Scarcely two years elapsed after the Methodists had taken the university under their patronage, when the buildings and grounds were sold at sheriff's sale.⁸¹

The property was purchased by John F. Stoddard, a former principal of the university.⁸² He enjoyed its ownership and management for less than a year. Late in the evening of April 18, 1857, the university building was destroyed by fire.⁸³

⁷⁹ University of Northern Pennsylvania, *Circular* (September 17, 1854), Wayne County Historical Society, Honesdale; Honesdale *Wayne County Herald*, October 12, 1854.

⁸⁰ University of Northern Pennsylvania, *Catalogue* (1854-55), 15-16, Wayne County Historical Society, Honesdale.

⁸¹ Honesdale *Wayne County Herald*, November 13, 1856.

⁸² D. G. Allen, "Wayne County," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 591; Phineas G. Goodrich, *History of Wayne County* (Honesdale, 1880), 320.

⁸³ Honesdale *Wayne County Herald*, April 23, 1857.

CHAPTER VIII

Quaker Colleges

I. QUAKER ATTITUDE TOWARDS EDUCATION

The Friends were imbued with the ideal of universal elementary education for their children and were the first to establish schools in the Province.¹ Penn declared in his preface to "The Frame of the Government" of 1682 that "men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth. . . ."² The frame itself provided "That the governor and Provincial Council shall erect and order all publick schools, and encourage and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions in the said province."³ Apparently with every intention of implementing this design, the frame provided for the division of Council into four committees, one of which was charged with the responsibility of seeing "that youth may be successively trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts."⁴ Apparently convinced that schools would be established, the Assembly on December 7, 1682, decreed "That the Laws of this Province . . . shall be one of the Books taught in the Schooles of this Province, and territories thereof."⁵

The Frame of 1683 goes a step further and regards education as a government function: "That the Governour and Provincial Councill shall erect and order all publick schools and encourage and reward the authors of usefull sciences and laudable inventions in the said Province and Territories thereof."⁶ In an effort to carry this through, on December 26, 1683, the "Gov^r and Prov^l Councill" engaged with Enock Flower to instruct children "to learne to read, Write and Cast

¹ Mulhern, *Secondary Education*, 30 ff.; Thomas Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1920), 28 ff.; Tolles, *Meeting House*, 149.

² Pennsylvania, *Charter to William Penn, and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, Passed Between the Years 1682 and 1700* (Harrisburg, 1879), 93.

³ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 157.

acco^t. . . ."⁷ Expressing a need for education on a higher level than that provided by Enock Flower, on January 17, 1683/84, the Council "Proposed that care be Taken about the Learning and Instruction of Youth, to Witt: a School of Arts and Siences."⁸ In fact, so concerned was the provincial government with the education of all children that it passed a law requiring compulsory elementary education.⁹

The advanced educational ideas of Penn, which conceived of education as a function of the state, were not to be realized until more than a hundred years later.¹⁰ It remained for the Quakers as a religious society to establish schools on both the elementary and secondary levels.¹¹

Though eminently convinced of the necessity of elementary and secondary education, the Friends were equally persuaded with Martin Luther and William Penn that universities were "Signal Places for Idleness, Looseness, Prophaneness, Prodigality, and gross Ignorance."¹² Having no specially trained clergy, they viewed the colleges and universities with suspicion as promulgators of error and as breeders of a "hireling priesthood."¹³ The Quaker attitude towards the reading of books was perhaps another factor that militated against the possibility of their establishing institutions of higher education. Though a few of them, like James Logan, managed to assemble remarkable libraries rivaling the best of those established by individuals in the Colonies, they regarded the reading of books, "except for devotional or practical manuals," as "a waste of precious time."¹⁴

Similarly, the Quaker abhorrence of lawyers, described by George Fox as "the lawyers black, their black robe as a puddle, and like a black pit, almost covered over with blackness,"¹⁵ may have deterred them from establishing institutions where legal training might be

⁷ Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records*, I, 36.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁹ Pennsylvania, *Charter to William Penn, and Laws of the Province*, 238.

¹⁰ Act of March 3, 1818, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1817-1818*, p. 124, forming the city and county of Philadelphia as the first school district of the State; Act of April 1, 1834, *ibid.*, 1833-1834, p. 170, establishing a general system of education by common schools in the State. See also Joseph J. McCadden, *Education in Pennsylvania, 1801-1835, and Its Debt to Roberts Vaux* (Philadelphia, 1937), 17-21.

¹¹ Woody, *Quaker Education*, 42-43; Mulhern, *Secondary Education*, Chapter II.

¹² Von Raumer, "Luther's Views of Education and Schools," Barnard (ed.), *Memoirs . . . of Education in Germany*, 153; Tolles, *Meeting House*, 149.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹⁵ George Fox, *The Law of God . . .* (London, 1658), 4.

procured. Indeed, so great was the prejudice against lawyers that the Provincial Council actually passed a bill in 1686 providing

that noe persons shall plead in any Civill Causes of another, in any Court whatsoever within this Province and Territory, before he be Solemnlye attested in open Court that he neither directly nor Indirectly hath in any wise taken or received, or will take or receive to his use or benefit any reward whatsoever for his soe pleading, under y^e penalty of 5 lb, if the contrary be made appear.¹⁶

In 1690 the Council passed a similar bill.¹⁷

Despite Quaker opposition to higher education, two Friends, James Logan and Dr. Lloyd Zachary, were original trustees of the Philadelphia Academy, which later became the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia; and some Quaker merchants contributed to the financial support of the academy.¹⁸ Dr. Zachary attended the meetings of the trustees quite regularly, but James Logan attended only one meeting, and his son-in-law Isaac Norris, who succeeded him on the board, also attended but one meeting.¹⁹ The Friends were disturbed by the inauguration ceremonies of the academy which included a formal Anglican service and a sermon by the Reverend Richard Peters; and whatever interest remained turned to hostility when the academy grew into a college in 1755.²⁰ Consequently, it was

¹⁶ Quoted in Lawrence Lewis, Jr., "The Courts of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century," *PMHB*, V (1881), 182-83.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 183. Tolles, *Meeting House*, 122, following the lead of Charles Keith, *The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), 126, infers from this that "Until 1722 it was actually illegal to practice law for money in Pennsylvania." He evidently overlooked the fact that both these measures of Council failed to pass the Assembly. See Lewis, "The Courts of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century," *PMHB*, V, 183. Furthermore, there is additional evidence that no law existed which prohibited the practice of law for money in Pennsylvania. In a petition considered by the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania on March 1, 1708/09, Francis Daniel Pastorius complained that a certain John Henry Sprogel was attempting to eject him from his home and that to accomplish this purpose "hath . . . fee'd, or retained, the *four known Lawyers of this province*, in order to deprive, as well your petitioner, as likewise Johannes Jawert, of all advice in law, which sufficiently argues his cause to be none of the best." Quoted in *Hazard's Register*, V (1830), 255.

¹⁸ College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, Minutes of Trustees, I, ii; June 25, 1750, pp. 6-7; Thomas H. Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania from Its Foundation to A. D. 1770* (Philadelphia, 1900), 43, 118.

¹⁹ College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, Minutes of Trustees, I, November 13, 1749, p. 1, and succeeding meetings; Montgomery, *History of the University of Pennsylvania*, 44.

²⁰ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 151.

not until the third decade of the nineteenth century, when collegiate education was being generally altered in respect to purpose and character, that the Quakers made any attempt to erect an institution above the secondary level.

2. COLLEGES OF THE QUAKERS

Haverford College. Early in the life of the association formed for the purpose of establishing a school that would afford a liberal education to the young men of the Orthodox branch of the Society of Friends,²¹ the managers recorded in their minutes, as a guide to their future proceedings, "that the primary object in forming this association has been the preservation of our young men at one of the most exposed periods of life, by affording them the opportunities of a liberal education, in strict accordance with the doctrines and testimonies of our religious society, without subjecting them to the contaminating influences of mixed Seminaries."²² This represented an advance in their thinking concerning education; for, clearly, what was contemplated was the building of a college, despite the apparent reluctance so to name it.

Their orientation toward higher education was manifested in the plan the managers adopted for the curricular organization of the proposed school. The full course of instruction was to embrace a period of four years. Students were to be arranged according to their proficiency into four classes, to be designated "The Third Junior Class, the Second Junior Class, the Junior Class, the Senior Class." The full course of instruction was to include the Latin and Greek languages, ancient and English literature, mental and moral science, mathematics, and natural philosophy. Of particular significance, and that which plainly marked their collegiate intentions, were the requirements they laid down for admission.

No Boy under twelve years of age shall be admitted into the School and students previous to admission into the third Junior Class, shall undergo an examination by the Teachers in the following preparatory studies to wit: English, Latin & Greek Grammar, the first Six Books of the *Æneid*, Caesar de bello Gallico; the gospel of St. John; Jacobs' Greek Reader; Arithmetic, Geography and Algebra as far as simple equations inclusive.²³

²¹ Smith, *History of Delaware County*, 358.

²² Friends Central School Association, Minutes of Managers, I, 1st Month 1, 1831. These are preserved in the Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

²³ *Ibid.*, 5th Month 14, 1831.

Having selected and purchased a site for the school in Haverford and having made arrangements for the erection of a building, whose cost was not to exceed \$18,000, the managers ordered the placing of an announcement in the *Friend*, informing interested parents of the possible opening of the school during the course of the ensuing year, of the admission of only those students who were Friends or children of Friends, of the course of study, and of the academic requirements for admission.²⁴

On the advice of counsel, the managers petitioned the legislature for an act of incorporation.²⁵ The original application had named the proposed corporation the "Friends' Haverford School Association." Opposition to the use of the word "Friends" by the Hicksite Quakers led to the Senate's deleting that term, and the charter was finally granted to the Haverford School Association in 1833.²⁶

It was the stated purpose of the corporation to establish "a seminary, in which young men shall be instructed in the liberal arts and Sciences." The association was to be financed by means of the sale of six hundred shares of capital stock at a par value of \$100 a share. No provision was made for the granting of diplomas or the conferring of degrees.²⁷

Shortly after the receipt of the charter, the managers elected a "Teacher of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy," a superintendent of the school, and a teacher of "Mental & Moral Philosophy & English Literature &c."²⁸ The school was opened October 28, 1833, with twenty-one students in attendance.²⁹ Neither the senior nor the first junior classes were organized, for the faculty and managers felt that "it is not probable that any boys will be prepared by their previous studies for the examinations which must hereafter be considered requisite for passing into those classes."³⁰ At the same meeting a more detailed outline of the proposed four-year curriculum was adopted. Three years later, on the basis of the faculty's recommendation, two students

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 11th Month 10, 17, 1831; 2nd Month 18, 25, 1832.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12th Month 29, 1832.

²⁶ Philadelphia *Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post and Bulletin*, February 9, 1833; Act of April 4, 1833, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1832-1833*, p. 131.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Haverford School Association, Minutes of Managers, I, 6th Month 5, 7th Month 3, 9th Month 25, 1833. These minutes are preserved in the Haverford College Library.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 10th Month 30, 1833.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 10th Month 23, 1833.

were awarded the first diplomas granted by the school.³¹ The following year (1837), after a series of examinations that lasted eight hours each day for four days, nine members of the senior class received their diplomas.³²

Despite careful financial planning and meticulous fund accounting, deficits began to burden the infant institution. Appropriations from the State to colleges, academies, and female seminaries, granting \$500 a year for ten years, and donations from private sources³³ failed to fill the gap between low income and rising expenditures. Economies were effected; the faculty of three teachers contributed portions of their salaries to defray expenses; and a very large gift of \$20,575 was received from Nathan Dunn to aid in removing the school's "pecuniary embarrassments."³⁴ Yet, so small were the student enrollments, attributed by the managers to the failure of Friends to send their sons to the school, and so large the debt, that the managers felt constrained to close the institution in 1845.³⁵

The intervening years between the cessation and reinstitution of instructional activities were devoted to removing the difficulties that led to failure. Deeming the rule limiting admission of students to Friends or sons of Friends an impediment that could be eliminated only by charter amendment, the managers applied for and received a supplement to their charter which confirmed their legal right to make and alter rules and regulations at will.³⁶ During the same period they raised an endowment fund of \$50,000 and rewarded subscribers of \$4,000 to that fund with a permanent scholarship certificate that entitled its holder to nominate and maintain a student at the school without charge for board or tuition.³⁷ Having secured what they considered to be an adequate endowment and having altered the rule which proscribed the admission of students other than Friends or sons of Friends, the managers elected a new faculty and announced that the school would reopen May 10, 1848.³⁸

³¹ *Ibid.*, 10th Month 26, 1836.

³² Haverford School, Minutes of Faculty, 9th Month 7, 1837, p. 36; Haverford School Association, Minutes of Managers, II, 9th Month 9, 1837. The faculty minutes are preserved in the Haverford College Library.

³³ Act of April 12, 1838, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1837-1838*, p. 332; Haverford School Association, Minutes of Managers, II, 11th Month 23, 1838.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 5th Month 2, 9th Month 14, 10th Month 28, 12th Month 24, 1840.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 12th Month 7, 1842; 5th Month 8, 1844; 9th Month 3, 1845.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 12th Month 26, 1845; Act of January 23, 1846, Pennsylvania *Laws, 1846*, p. 3.

³⁷ Haverford School Association, Minutes of Managers, II, 5th Month 27, 1847.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2nd Month 27, 1846; 2nd Month 15, 18, 1848.

With the resumption of classes, the managers turned their attention to increasing the educational facilities of the institution, which they now acknowledged as having collegiate status.³⁹ A large telescope and transit were purchased, and an observatory building was contracted for and erected.⁴⁰ The following year a chemical laboratory was constructed.⁴¹

One further step was necessary to stamp the institution with the advanced rank it had already assumed. Early in 1855 the faculty discussed the question of obtaining legal sanction for conferring degrees.⁴² It was their belief that this would result in the students' gaining self-respect "from the public recognition of their course of study as worthy of the name of a college education, and from the substitution of a degree whose value and meaning are universally understood, for a diploma intelligible only to those who happen to be fully acquainted with the character of the School."⁴³ The managers petitioned the legislature for a supplement to the original act of incorporation; and the General Assembly on March 15, 1856, amended the charter, permitting the association to conduct a college and "to confer such degrees in the arts and sciences . . . as are conferred in other colleges or universities in the United States."⁴⁴

In accordance with the changes in the charter, the managers decreed that the name of the school be changed to Haverford College and that the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts be conferred upon the students who completed the full course of study.⁴⁵ Accordingly, at the commencement of 1856 five students of the class of 1856 and twelve graduates of former years were awarded the first degrees in the arts to be conferred by Haverford College.⁴⁶

Swarthmore College. The careful planning and organization exhibited by the Orthodox Friends in providing for Haverford College were likewise manifest in the efforts of the Hicksite Quakers to es-

³⁹ Haverford School, *Catalogue* (1852-53), 15.

⁴⁰ Haverford School Association, *Minutes of Managers*, II, 1st Month, 3, 6th Month 11, 7th Month 2, 1852; Haverford School, *Catalogue* (1852-53), 16.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* (1853-54), 18-19.

⁴² Haverford School, *Minutes of Faculty*, I, 3rd Month 9, 1855, pp. 111-12.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3rd Month 6, 1856, pp. 129-30.

⁴⁴ Haverford School Association, *Minutes of Managers*, II, 2nd Month 1, 1856; Act of March 15, 1856, Pennsylvania, *Laws*, 1856, p. 123.

⁴⁵ Haverford College, *Minutes of Managers*, II, 6th Month 6, 1856, in Haverford College Library.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 9th Month 9, 1856; Haverford College, *Minutes of Faculty*, 9th Month 10, 1856, p. 142.

tablish Swarthmore College. At their first recorded meeting they appointed committees to obtain a draft of a charter and to inquire into the subject of locating the proposed school.⁴⁷ The following day they adopted a constitution which provided for the formation of a stock company and the annual election of a board of managers of thirty-two members, half of whom were to be women, to govern the contemplated educational institution.⁴⁸

Though the charter was applied for in 1863, it was not obtained from the legislature until April, 1864.⁴⁹ It established a corporate body under the title of Swarthmore College and proclaimed the purpose of the corporation to be the erection and maintenance of "a school and college, for the purpose of imparting to persons, of both sexes, knowledge in the various branches of science, literature and the arts." The charter provided for the issuing of capital stock up to but not exceeding the amount of \$300,000. A board of thirty-two managers, all of whom were to be members of the religious society of Friends, was to be elected annually by the stockholders and was empowered to grant "such degrees as are conferred by other colleges, or universities, in the United States."⁵⁰ Finding the charter limited with respect to the amount of stock that could be issued and silent concerning the admission of women as stockholders and managers of the corporation, the managers in 1870 obtained an amendment to the charter permitting an increase of the capital stock to \$500,000 and providing for the inclusion of women, single or married, as members and managers of the corporation.⁵¹

In the meantime, a committee was appointed to inquire into the location of the school, and more than a year later it reported the purchase of a site.⁵² Other committees were instructed "to take into consideration the whole subject of the character of the proposed school or College, [and] to visit Institutions of learning and obtain information which might aid the Board of Managers in carrying into effect

⁴⁷ Friends' Educational Association, Minutes of Managers, I, 12th Month 2, 1862, pp. 1-2. These minutes are preserved in the Swarthmore College Library, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

⁴⁸ *Constitution and List of Officers of Friends' Educational Association* (Philadelphia, 1862), 5 ff.

⁴⁹ Friends' Educational Association, Minutes of Managers, I, 5th Month 27, 1863, p. 3; Act of April 1, 1864, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1864*, p. 185.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Act of April 14, 1870, *ibid.*, 1870, p. 1161.

⁵² Swarthmore College, Minutes of Managers, I, 12th Month 2, 1862, p. 2; 3rd Month 1, 1864, p. 9. These minutes are preserved in the Swarthmore College Library.

the object of their appointment."⁵³ Their investigations resulted in the adoption of a plan which would include "Collegiate, Normal and Preliminary Departments," and in the election of a president of the college.⁵⁴

The caution with which the managers proceeded was further evidenced by their rejection of the president's proposal that the preparatory department be opened in the autumn of 1867, on the grounds that such an act would be premature "considering the state of our Finances."⁵⁵ They did, however, agree to the election of a principal of the preparatory department, who was sent to Europe to pursue his studies.⁵⁶ By-laws were adopted, charging the president and faculty of the college with the holding of regular meetings, with the arranging of the course of study, with determining the qualifications for admission and graduation, and with formulating rules of order and discipline.⁵⁷

Chief among the deterrents to the opening of the college was the insufficiency of funds. The president reported in 1867 that the sum expended to that time for the construction of the college building had exceeded \$110,000 and that it was estimated \$106,000 more would be necessary to render the building tenantable.⁵⁸ A year later, "The Board being Exceedingly anxious that the School should be opened next Autumn," it was agreed that each manager pay ten dollars upon each share of stock previously subscribed by him, since the resulting funds "would assure completion of the College building so as to open next autumn."⁵⁹ Anticipating the raising of the necessary finances, a prospectus was issued containing a list of the faculty as then constituted, among whom was included a woman, Anna Hallowell, "Professor of Rhetoric, Literature and History," and fixing the day for the reception of pupils as October 21, 1869.⁶⁰ Thus, seven years after the first recorded meeting of the Friends' Educational Association, the president of the college was able to report that the institution had

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 12th Month 11, 1863, p. 7.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 5th Month 12, 1865, pp. 17 ff.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 12th Month 3, 1866, p. 38.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 5th Month 9, 12th Month 2, 1867, pp. 41, 48.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 12th Month 2, 1867, p. 47; *By-Laws, Officers and Committees of the Corporation of Swarthmore College* (Philadelphia, 1867), 8.

⁵⁸ Swarthmore College, Minutes of Managers, I, 12th Month 2, 1867, p. 48.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 12th Month 1, 1868, pp. 57-58.

⁶⁰ Swarthmore College, *Prospectus* (1869-70), 1 ff.

opened on November 11, 1869, with 170 students, 20 of whom were enrolled in the freshman class of the college course.⁶¹

The first course of study adopted for the four years of college was unique in that the elective system was instituted, providing for a choice in selection of studies beginning with the freshmen. "In the Freshmen and Sophomore years, four studies are elective—Greek, German, French, and Practical Chemistry—of which the student is required to select two. In the last two years the proportion of elective studies is much greater, and will be still further enlarged with the increase of the resources of the College."⁶²

In respect to standards for graduation, emphasis was placed on the completion of certain required and elective courses rather than on the number of years of attendance. According to the catalogue, "the degree of A.B. may be obtained by a longer or shorter period of study, depending upon the number of branches pursued at one time." This was intended to permit the student "of great ability or remarkable application" to progress at a more rapid rate if he so desired.⁶³ For the successful pursuit of this course of study, five women and one man, comprising the first graduating class of Swarthmore College, were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1873.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Swarthmore College, Minutes of Managers, I, 12th Month 7, 1869, p. 77.

⁶² Swarthmore College, *Catalogue* (1869-70), 32, 38-40.

⁶³ *Ibid.* (1870-71), 32, 34.

⁶⁴ Swarthmore College, Minutes of Stockholders, 12th Month 2, 1873, p. 46; Swarthmore College, *Catalogue* (1875-76), 62. The stockholders' minutes are preserved in the Swarthmore College Library.

CHAPTER IX

Episcopalian Influence

I. BACKGROUND

Although numerically strong in the Colonial and early national periods, the Episcopalians were neither prolific in their establishment of higher educational institutions nor particularly successful in maintaining those few they initiated. Of the four institutions that once had life, only Lehigh University remains—a school originally projected as a polytechnic institute.

Their apparent lack of energy in erecting colleges, particularly in the provincial period, may be ascribed to the notion that the College and Academy of Philadelphia served Episcopalian interests. Some justification existed for this belief, though not a hint of sectarianism was contained in Franklin's plans for the school. In 1750 he declared in a letter to Samuel Johnson, that three-fourths of the trustees of the academy were members of the Church of England.¹ William Smith, the first provost of the College and Academy, in an attempt to show the extent of Episcopalian influence over the institution, wrote (1756) that of twenty-four trustees, fifteen or sixteen were members of the Church of England; that he, as a minister of that church, had been chosen as provost in preference to two other ministers of different persuasions, despite their longer tenure; that twice a day prayers were held; and that the children were taught the church catechism.² The commencement exercises of 1759 were "open'd by Prayer, perform'd after the Rites of the Church of England by the Reverend Mr. Peters President."³ A letter received by the college trustees from London in 1764, written by Thomas and Richard Penn and others, cautioned the trustees against the raising of jealousies that would be occasioned by any attempt to change the nonsectarian basis

¹ Franklin to Johnson, August 9, 1750, Albert H. Smyth (ed.) *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 10 vols. (New York, 1905-1907), III, 13.

² Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, 563.

³ College, Academy and Charitable School, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 6, 1759, pp. 103-104, Secretary's Office, University of Pennsylvania.

of the institution. To this the trustees replied that they were determined to maintain the nondiscriminatory nature of the college and to use "their utmost Endeavours" to preserve the same balance between "the Members of the Church of England . . . [and] those dissenting from them" that obtained at the time of the granting of the original charter.⁴

Still another source suggests that the College and Academy of Philadelphia for the period of its existence under provincial rule was largely in the hands of the Episcopalians. Benjamin Rush, while striving to persuade the Presbyterians to establish a college at Carlisle, urged them at the same time to "Join as soon as possible in Restoring to the Lawful owners the College of Philadelphia"; since, he maintained, "The College of Philadelphia was founded chiefly by the Episcopalians [*sic*]."⁵ There were those who objected to his plan, stating that this would be "very disagreeable to many Presbyterians, especially to those who were warm in the scheme of breaking its ancient Charter."⁶ Still others contended that the college at Carlisle "was a party institution set on foot by the Episcopalians to be revenged on the Presbyterians for taking the College of Philad^a from them."⁷ These may have been the factors, consequently, that deterred the Episcopalians from erecting colleges of their own during the life of the Province and the beginning years of the Commonwealth. It was not until a third of the nineteenth century had elapsed that their first institution, Bristol College, appeared, only to perish after a brief few years.

2. EPISCOPALIAN COLLEGES

Bristol College. Designed, primarily, to fit young men aspiring to the Christian ministry to enter "the General and Diocesan Theological Seminaries," Bristol College was founded in 1833 by the Protestant Episcopal church as Bristol Collegiate Institute.⁸ It opened its doors for instruction on October 1, 1833, with approximately forty students

⁴ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1764, pp. 260 ff.

⁵ Benjamin Rush, "Hints for Establishing a College at Carlisle in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania," September 3, 1782, RCLC, XLI, 1.

⁶ James Lang and others to Benjamin Rush, November 13, 1782, RCLC.

⁷ Rush to John Montgomery, August 27, 1784, RCLC.

⁸ Bristol Collegiate Institute, *Prospectus* (1833), 3, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, III (August, 1833), 380; *Hazard's Register*, XII (August 10, 1833), 90-91; W. W. H. Davis, *The History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, from the Discovery of the Delaware to the Present Time* (Doylestown, 1876), 133.

in attendance; and in February, 1834, the institution was chartered by an act of the legislature as Bristol College.⁹

The charter not only established Bristol College near the borough of Bristol in the county of Bucks "for the education of youth in the various branches of science and literature, the learned and foreign languages," but specified that the curriculum should also include "manual labour in agriculture and the mechanic arts. . . ." It contained the usual provision empowering the faculty and the trustees to confer such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences "as are usually granted in other colleges and universities. . . ."¹⁰

Three departments comprised the organizational structure of the new institution: a college department of four classes, corresponding with the four years of the collegiate course; "an academical department for boys over 15 years of age, who are preparing . . . [to] enter the Freshman Class in the College"; and a "select preparatory school" for boys from twelve to fifteen years of age who intended eventually to enter college.¹¹ A candidate for admission to the freshman year of college had to "have completed his fourteenth year." He was "critically examined in the Grammar of the Greek and Latin languages, Jacobs' Latin Reader, or (as a substitute,) Caesar's Commentaries, (iv books,) Virgil, Sallust, Cicero's Select Orations, Jacobs' Greek Reader, or (as a substitute,) Dalzel's Collectanea Graeca Minora, Quantity and Scanning in each language, Lacroix's Arithmetic, Woodbridge's Geography."¹²

In conjunction with the regular college course, "*Manual-labour, or exercise in the College shops, gardens, and farm,*" was considered "*as an important, if not an essential part of a thorough and truly liberal and valuable education.*" President Chauncey Colton, quoting the college's laws, noted that the college adopted as fundamental the sentiment of Plato: "*that it ought to be every where maintained, that a GOOD EDUCATION imparts to the MIND and BODY all the power, all the beauty, and all the perfection of which they are capable.*"¹³ The

⁹ Chauncey Colton, *An Address on the Standard of American Scholarship and Enterprise of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1835), 29, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Act of February 27, 1834, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1833-1834*, p. 93.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Hazard's Register*, XII (August 10, 1833), 90; *American Annals of Education*, III (August, 1833), 380.

¹² Bristol College, *Catalogue* (1834-35), 43, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹³ Quoted in Chauncey Colton, *An Address Delivered at the Inauguration of the Faculty of Bristol College, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, April 2, 1834* (Philadelphia, 1834), 27 n., Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

college "Laws," consequently, required that each student in the collegiate and academical departments engage in some manual exercise or labor from two to three hours each day, and from two to four hours on Saturday.¹⁴

To the disinterested observer, the college appeared to be in a prosperous condition. The original college grounds and buildings, valued at from \$50,000 to \$80,000, had been purchased for \$20,000, of which \$5,000 had already been paid and the remaining \$15,000 had been subscribed by friends of the institution.¹⁵ Citing the progress that had been made in the few months that the college had been in existence, President Colton in 1834 noted the addition "of nearly thirty students to the classes of the Collegiate Department"; the appointment of a professor of Hebrew, Latin, and German, and two assistant professors; valuable accessions to the library; and the commencement of a new college building, which, when completed, was designed to "accommodate about one hundred and twenty students, besides large and convenient Lecture and Recitation Rooms."¹⁶ Writing in the autumn of 1834, a former student described the college as a "flourishing institution . . . advancing very rapidly," with an enrollment of between eighty and ninety students.¹⁷ The first college catalogue lists the number of students for the academic year 1834-1835 at 102, with 41 in the collegiate department, 45 in the academical department, and 16 in the select school.¹⁸ For the academic year 1835-1836, the number of professors had been increased to 11, and the student enrollment had jumped to 156, of whom 91 were members of the collegiate department.¹⁹

Yet, despite this apparent prosperity, the college closed after the commencement of 1836—the only commencement at which the Bachelor of Arts degree had been conferred. At the first meeting of the Alumni Association of Bristol College (1837), the speaker declared:

As we left the society, endeared to us by a thousand pleasant recollections, we were gladdened by the hope that after a year's absence we should return to meet the welcome of our beloved parent and to offer her the tribute of unbroken affection . . . but Oh! in how different circumstances from those we antici-

¹⁴ *The Laws of Bristol College, Pennsylvania* ([Bristol], 1835), 18.

¹⁵ Colton, *An Address on the Standard of American Scholarship*, 29-30.

¹⁶ Colton, *An Address Delivered at the Inauguration of the Faculty*, 17 n.

¹⁷ *Hazard's Register*, XIV (October 4, 1834), 221-22.

¹⁸ Bristol College, *Catalogue* (1834-35), 42.

¹⁹ *American Annals of Education*, VI (December, 1836), 556; Bristol College, *Catalogue* (1835-36), 11, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

pated. We have gathered to pledge the heart's solemn devotion at the *grave* of our alma mater. In the pride of her youth she has fallen. . . .²⁰

Research has failed to reveal either the alleged or real reasons for the college's failure. Presumably, the lack of finances played a decisive role in hastening its demise. There is some evidence to support this inference. Income from student sources was extremely low. The total charge per student for board, for tuition, and for room rent for an academic year of forty weeks was \$100. Further, these charges were not exacted from those on scholarship foundations of Episcopal education societies; and students who derived their sole means of support from manual labor or teaching were exempted from the payment of tuition fees.²¹ It was estimated that by remitting the tuition of "All scholarship students of the Episcopal Church studying for the ministry, whether supported by benevolent individuals, or by Scholarship, or Education Societies," the college was annually giving the church a sum equivalent to the interest of \$22,500.²² The fact that student costs were moderate, even for this period, was attested by *Hazard's Register*. In an article announcing the intended opening of the college, the statement is made that: "The terms are put so low, that its advantages may be embraced, by the sons of persons in very moderate circumstances. . . ."²³ Consequently, a meager source of income, diminished by between fifty and sixty scholarship students enjoying free tuition, would necessitate the seeking of additional funds to maintain the institution in a solvent condition. That this was so is evidenced by the college's appeal for \$30,000 to complete the new college edifice and for other purposes.²⁴ The extant sources are silent concerning the nature of the response to this plea for funds. However, it appears reasonable to conclude that it was not very generous, or sufficiently large to be effective, since the college was terminated in 1836.

Lehigh University. In 1865 announcement was made of the projected establishment of a "College of Literature and Physical Science" in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.²⁵ For this purpose Asa Packer of Mauch

²⁰ D. H. Buel, *An Oration Pronounced Before the Society of the Alumni of Bristol College . . . September 22, 1837, . . .* (Philadelphia, 1837), 1, 5, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²¹ Bristol College, *Catalogue* (1834-35), 48.

²² Colton, *An Address on the Standard of American Scholarship*, 31.

²³ *Hazard's Register*, XII (August 10, 1833), 91.

²⁴ Bristol College, *Prospectus* (1833), 4; Colton, *An Address Delivered at the Inauguration of the Faculty*, 29-31.

²⁵ *New York Daily Tribune*, November 25, 1865; *PRSCS*, 1865, p. 162.

Chunk, Pennsylvania, contributed \$500,000 and fifty acres of land.²⁶ William Stevens, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania and first president of the board of trustees of Lehigh University,²⁷ described the founding of the institution in a commencement address delivered June 24, 1869. He said that in the fall of 1864 Asa Packer informed him that he wished to devote a portion of his great wealth for the benefit of the Lehigh Valley by "the founding of some educational institution, for the intellectual and moral improvement of the young men of that region." To this end Mr. Packer proposed to contribute \$500,000. "At the time of this interview," Bishop Stevens continued, "no one in this country, it is believed, had offered in a single sum such an endowment for a literary institution."²⁸

Bishop Stevens was requested to formulate a plan for the proposed school. Asa Packer examined the plan "with the practical judgment and business habits with which he deals with all great questions, and adopted the scheme as the basis of his future university." The trustees, selected by Judge Packer, held their first meeting July 27, 1865, and proceeded to organize the work before them. They planned the buildings, framed a system of instruction, and, even before the cornerstone had been laid, decided to choose a president in the person of Henry

²⁶ Although all sources agree as to the amount of money Judge Packer gave for this purpose, estimates of the number of acres he set aside vary widely from 50 to 118. Since the minutes of the trustees were not made available to the writer, the figure chosen was that contained in the charter granted by the State legislature. See *PRSCS, 1865*, p. 162; Act of February 9, 1866, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1866*, p. 23; Lehigh University, *Catalogue* (1866), 8; William B. Stevens, *The Lehigh University, Its Origins and Aims: An Historical Discourse Delivered in the Chapel of Packer Hall, on University Day, June 24, 1869* (Philadelphia, 1869), 14; Henry Coppee, "The Lehigh University," *PRSPI, 1877*, p. 442; *USRCE, 1880*, p. 275. All Lehigh catalogues are on file in the archives of Lehigh University, Bethlehem.

²⁷ Lehigh University, *Catalogue* (1866), 8.

²⁸ Stevens, *Lehigh University*, 13. Still another motive, besides that of "the intellectual and moral improvement . . . of young men," was attributed to Asa Packer in his desire to establish an educational institution. At a dinner held in Packer's honor, attended by the Committee on Internal Revenue of the United States Congress and by "a large gathering of capitalists," Mr. H. C. Carey was quoted as saying: "If our legislators would give us a permanent tariff that would justify the erection of the machinery, we could excel Europe in the quality and cheapness of our goods. Between 1846 and 1862 there were hundreds of blast furnaces stopped because of the ruinous competition of foreign iron. Here we had at either end of the Lehigh Valley mines of coal, iron and zinc, and all that was needed was protection and labor. The way to build the National prosperity surely was to educate the people, who would then see to their lawmakers. This Judge Packer had commenced in a practical way. His example should be followed." *New York Daily Tribune*, November 25, 1865.

Coppee to provide guidance and to oversee the execution of the plans of the proposed university.²⁹

In February, 1866, the trustees obtained a charter from the State legislature, incorporating "a polytechnic college, for the education of youth, by the name, style and title of the Lehigh University." The charter empowered the corporation to confer degrees in the liberal arts and sciences. It prohibited the president and the professors from holding the office of trustee. Finally, it exempted from taxation the donations of the founder of Lehigh University, including the plots of ground, so long as they were used for the purpose of the institution.³⁰

Though designed primarily as a polytechnic college, and essentially maintaining that characteristic, Lehigh University offered a liberal arts program leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree.³¹ In fact, the first faculty, albeit heavily weighted in the direction of the sciences, was largely composed of professorships in disciplines commonly considered the province of the liberal arts. It consisted of a president, who was also professor of history and English literature; a professor of moral and mental philosophy and Christian evidences; a professor of chemistry; a professor of mathematics and mechanics; a professor-elect of physics and astronomy; a professor of mineralogy and geology; an instructor in Latin and Greek; and unfilled instructorships in French and German.³² Not until 1870 did the catalogue list a technical professorship. Then, for the first time, announcement was made of the creation of a chair of civil and mechanical engineering.³³

The university was divided into five schools: General Literature, Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Mining and Metallurgy, and Analytical Chemistry, with the provision for the addition of other schools as need arose. Prior to admission to any of these schools, which represented the last two years of the college course, students were required to devote the first two college years to a general or liberal education course. This involved the study of "Mathematics, Languages, Chemistry, Drawing, Elementary Physics, Physiology, History, Rhetoric, Logic, Declamation and Composition." Those who intended to pursue the Bachelor of Arts program entered the School of General Literature. To be admitted to the university, students had

²⁹ Stevens, *Lehigh University*, 13-15.

³⁰ Act of February 9, 1866, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1866*, p. 23.

³¹ Coppee, "Lehigh University," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 443; Lehigh University, *Catalogue* (1866), 10-11.

³² *Ibid.*, 5.

³³ *Ibid.* (1870-71), 5.

to be sixteen years of age and had to pass entrance examinations in algebra and geometry, English composition, geography, and the elements of Latin grammar.³⁴

The university opened September 1, 1866, with the announcement that the special or professional schools would be ready for the admission of students September 1, 1867. Forty students were enrolled for the first session, thirty-nine in the "First Class," and one in the "Second Class."³⁵ In 1869, three years after the opening of the university, the three men comprising the first graduating class were awarded degrees corresponding to the courses they pursued in the special schools: one graduate received the degree of A.C. (Analytical Chemist); one, the degree of M.E. (Mechanical Engineer); and the third, the degree of C.E. (Civil Engineer). In 1870 the first Bachelor of Arts degrees were conferred on two graduates.³⁶

In consequence of the large initial endowment provided by Asa Packer and his subsequent bequests of more than \$2,000,000, the trustees were able to decree (July, 1871) that tuition would be "*Free* in all branches and classes."³⁷ This situation obtained for twenty years, until a rapidly increasing student body, "and the consequent necessity of increasing the income of the University," caused the trustees to reinstitute charges for tuition.³⁸

The religious orientation of the institution towards the Protestant Episcopal church was clearly indicated. In 1871 the catalogue noted that Lehigh University is "Under the Auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church."³⁹ This fact was reiterated in the catalogue of 1876-1877, which announced that "Divine Service is held on every Sunday morning, according to the forms of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Chapel of the University. Attendance at this service is required of every student, except in case of those connected with other religious bodies."⁴⁰ Possibly to dispel any doubts as to its religious affiliation, the catalogue of 1884-1885 adds that "The service is according to the forms of the Protestant Episcopal Church, under whose auspices the University was placed by the founder."⁴¹ Yet in the academic year

³⁴ *Ibid.* (1866), 9 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 7, 45-46.

³⁶ *Ibid.* (1877-78), 45-46.

³⁷ *USRCE*, 1880, p. 275; Lehigh University, *Catalogue* (1873-74), 33.

³⁸ *Ibid.* (1891-92), 31-32.

³⁹ *Ibid.* (1871-72), 5.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* (1876-77), 6.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* (1884-85), 26.

1897-1898 the trustees declared that "Lehigh University is not and never has been under denominational or sectarian control."⁴² Perhaps it is significant that the denial coincided with an appeal by the trustees to the State legislature for \$200,000 to save the institution from closing its doors because of a lack of funds engendered by the suspension of dividends by the Lehigh Valley Railroad, in which the university's endowment had been invested.⁴³ At the same time that the appeal was being made, students were required to sign a form attesting to their attendance at Sunday service in the Packer Memorial Church.⁴⁴ And as late as 1904 the catalogue stated that "Morning prayers are held in the Packer Memorial Church of the University, at which attendance is required."⁴⁵

Andalusia College. Founded as a boarding school for boys at Burlington, New Jersey, October 3, 1860, it was removed by its proprietor, the Reverend H. T. Wells, to Pennsylvania in 1861, and named Andalusia Institute.⁴⁶ The school enjoyed the recommendation of Alonzo Potter, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania, and officially characterized itself as an Episcopal institution in its reports to the United States Commissioner of Education.⁴⁷ Conceiving its mission as one of a higher order than that originally contemplated by its owner, a college charter was applied for, and it was granted by the State legislature in March, 1866.⁴⁸

The charter stipulated that the literary institution previously conducted by H. T. Wells as Andalusia Institute at Andalusia, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, should thereafter be known by the name of Andalusia College. It invested the trustees with the right "to confer the usual academic and other degrees granted by colleges" in Pennsylvania. In one respect, however, the act of incorporation differed from the charters granted to other colleges. Recognizing the proprietor, H. T. Wells, as the president of the institution, the charter

⁴² William A. Cornelius, *Seventy-five Years of Lehigh University* (Lehigh University Publications, 1942), 23.

⁴³ *The Lehigh University: Its Endowment, Its Equipment, and Its Needs* (n.p., c. 1897); Cornelius, *Lehigh University*, 23.

⁴⁴ Lehigh University, *Church Attendance Form* (1898), Lehigh University Archives.

⁴⁵ Lehigh University, *Catalogue* (1903-04), 13.

⁴⁶ Andalusia College, *Catalogue* (1866), 14, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; *USRCE*, 1870, pp. 514-15; Andalusia Institute, *Catalogue* (1861), 2, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; *USRCE*, 1870, p. 514.

⁴⁸ Andalusia College, *Catalogue* (1866), 14; Act of March 30, 1866, Pennsylvania, *Laws*, 1866, p. 366.

stipulated that he was to maintain full control of the college, including the right to appoint members of the faculty, until such time as the trustees were able to compensate him for the value of its real estate and to pay the expenses and losses he had incurred in establishing the institution.⁴⁹

In February, 1867, a supplement to the charter was obtained, extending the act of incorporation "to embrace, either separately, or conjointly with the college as now established, a female department of the same, with a separate, or conjoint, faculty, and other officers of the board of instruction therein."⁵⁰

The transition in name from institute to college did not bring with it a corresponding change from primary and secondary to higher education. Recognizing its function as essentially secondary in nature, the first catalogue of the institution as a chartered college divided the school into three departments: the primary, the preparatory, and the collegiate. Of the last of these it stated: "In the Collegiate Department students are taken through a full College course. It is not expected, however, that many will avail themselves of this course, as the restrictions with reference to habits and morals are too stringent to meet with general favor."⁵¹

Despite the prediction that few students would enter the college course because of stringent restrictions, the catalogue of 1867 offers an imposing array of five courses of study in the college department that not only promises the successful candidate a bachelor's degree after two or three years of study, but a Doctor of Philosophy degree after a total of four years. Concerning these "college programs" the catalogue states:

This Department is designed to cover the ground of a thorough and complete Business and Liberal Education. There are five Courses of Study in it, as follows: 1. A Commercial Course, 2. A Scientific Course, 3. A Mathematical Course, 4. A Select Course, 5. A Classical Course.

Two years are required to complete any one of the first four Courses, and three years to complete the fifth Course; but students who may have pursued a portion of the studies in any Course, and are able to sustain a satisfactory examination in the same, will be allowed to graduate in shorter time.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Act of February 27, 1867, *ibid.*, 1867, p. 260.

⁵¹ Andalusia College, *Catalogue* (1866), 16.

Graduates in the first Course will receive the Degree of Bachelor of Commercial Law—in the second, third and fourth Courses, the Degree of Bachelor of Philosophy—in the fifth Course the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. Students who may remain in the Institution two years after graduating in any one of the first four Courses, or one year after graduating in the fifth Course, and shall pursue such studies as shall be assigned them by the Faculty, and sustain a satisfactory examination in the same, will be entitled to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy."⁵²

All this was to be accomplished with a faculty consisting of the Reverend H. T. Wells, A.M., president, professor of English literature and commercial law; E. B. Glen, A.M., professor of Greek and Latin; a professorship of mathematics and one of natural science, without incumbents; two assistants; a teacher of music and painting; a teacher of the primary department; a teacher of drawing and French; and a registrar. To aid them in their teaching and in the prosecution of their studies, the professors and students were given access to "a library of over two hundred well selected volumes . . . which furnishes suitable and interesting reading for the pupils"; and a scientific apparatus consisting of "a valuable Telescope and some other articles" obtained within the past year.⁵³ Nor is there anything to indicate the nature of the "Classical Course" leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree, since the catalogue dismisses it with the terse statement that "This Course corresponds to that of other Colleges where the Ancient Languages predominate."⁵⁴

The prediction that few students would pursue the college course was borne out by the fact that neither the Bachelor of Arts nor the Bachelor of Philosophy degrees were conferred upon any of the graduates of Andalusia College. In fact, research reveals that only one degree was ever awarded by the institution. The sole graduate of the class of 1867, Robert Grimshaw, is listed in the catalogue of 1867 as registrar with the letters B.C.L. (Bachelor of Commercial Law) after his name. Grimshaw's name also appears in the preceding catalogue of 1866 as registrar, but without the letters of adornment.⁵⁵ Confirmation of the school's failure to confer degrees is contained in the reports of the United States Commissioner of Education. In the two reports where Andalusia College is listed in the statistical tables dealing

⁵² *Ibid.* (1867), 11-12.

⁵³ *Ibid.* (1866), 4, 16.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* (1867), 14.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 4, 7; *ibid.* (1866), 4.

with "colleges and collegiate institutions in the United States," there are negative replies to the query concerning the degrees conferred at the last commencement.⁵⁶ Beginning with the report of 1873, Andalusia College appears in the statistical tables dealing with secondary institutions.⁵⁷

No further attempt, apparently, was made to reinvest the school with its formerly professed character as a collegiate institution. Writing in 1876 W. W. H. Davis speaks of the successful operation of "an Episcopal institution of learning, known as Andalusia College . . . a boarding-school for boys."⁵⁸ Similarly, the county superintendent of schools of Bucks County in 1877 reported the existence of "an Episcopal school, known as Andalusia College, or Potter Hall, a boarding-school for boys."⁵⁹

Lambeth College. Members of the Pittsburgh Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church opened a school in 1868 at Kittanning, called the "Kittanning Collegiate School."⁶⁰ Encouraged by the initial success of the enterprise, they determined to enlarge its scope and insure its permanent growth by incorporating the institution as a college.⁶¹ Their petition to the Court of Common Pleas of Armstrong County was successful, and a charter was granted September 7, 1868, establishing Lambeth College at Kittanning, Pennsylvania.⁶²

According to the charter, the object of the corporation "is the promotion of Liberal Learning on a distinctive Church basis; and to this end, the religious instruction of the Institution hereby authorized shall be forever in accordance with the Christian Faith, as held by that Branch of the Church Catholic now known as 'the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States'; the worship shall be in conformity to the formularies of said Branch of the Church,—and daily morning and evening prayers shall be forever an essential part of the exercises of the Institution."⁶³

The corporation was to be financed through the sale of an unspecified amount of capital stock at fifty dollars a share; each share entitled

⁵⁶ *USRCE*, 1870, pp. 514-15; *ibid.*, 1872, p. 786.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1873, p. 589.

⁵⁸ Davis, *Bucks County*, 157.

⁵⁹ *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 95.

⁶⁰ Lambeth College, *Catalogue* (1868-69), 12, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Smith, *Armstrong County*, 134.

⁶¹ Lambeth College, *Catalogue* (1868-69), 12.

⁶² Armstrong County, Deed Book, XXXV, 385 ff. (September 8, 1868), Courthouse, Kittanning.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

its holder to one vote in all elections. It was to be governed by a board of nine trustees (elected annually by the stockholders), all of whom must be members in good standing of the Protestant Episcopal church. The bishop of the diocese was made *ex officio* chancellor of the corporation.⁶⁴

Authority was given the corporation "to establish a Primary, a Preparatory, and an Academic Department; and also, in the discretion of the Board of Trustees, departments of Medicine and of Law. The Board may also establish a Girls' School in connection with said Institution." Accompanying these broad powers was the right "to confer . . . the several degrees of Bachelor of Arts, of Science, and of Philosophy; Master of Arts, and Doctor of Philosophy; and also to confer the several Academic degrees, *honoris causa*. When the departments of Law and of Medicine . . . shall have been duly organized, the corporation shall have the further power to grant the corresponding degree or degrees in accordance with the rights and privileges of all similar corporations in this Commonwealth."⁶⁵

A course of study was adopted for the academic or collegiate department designed to make provision for the scientific as well as the classical course.⁶⁶ It is doubtful whether this curriculum was ever put into effect. Certainly, it is reasonable to conclude that the law and medical provisions of the charter were never realized. The faculty was a limited one; it consisted of a rector and headmaster, who also served as "Instructor in Ancient Languages, German, Higher Mathematics, &c."; an "Instructor in English, Mathematics, Physics, &c."; a woman as "Teacher of French Language and Literature"; a "Teacher of Instrumental and Vocal Music"; and another woman as "Teacher in Preparatory Department."⁶⁷ Student enrollments were small, and a contemporary report of 1870 asserts that the institution was not well patronized.⁶⁸ In 1876, after a few years of indifferent success, the college was permanently closed.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Lambeth College, *Catalogue* (1868-69), 10-11.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁸ Samuel Murphy, "Armstrong County. III. Educational Work Done by Other Agencies," *PRSCS*, 1870, p. 15.

⁶⁹ A. D. Glenn, "Lambeth College," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 33.

The available sources are agreed as to the factors which contributed to its demise. Lacking buildings of its own and a firm financial base, the institution was not sufficiently self-supporting to survive.⁷⁰

University of St. Augustine. By an act of the legislature in February, 1867, a group of ten men were incorporated under the name of the "University of St. Augustine."⁷¹ The charter declared the object and purpose of the corporation to be "the promotion of christian and liberal education; the religious instruction of the university shall be in accordance with the christian faith, as held by the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States of America, and the religious services shall be agreeably to the formularies of said church." A board of trustees of ten members, with the right of self-perpetuation, was vested with the management and business of the corporation. Presumably it was to have been located in the vicinity of Pittsburgh since the bishop of the Diocese of Pittsburgh was named *ex officio* as visitor and chancellor.

The provisions of the charter were unique in that they empowered the university corporators "to establish colleges, academies and schools, and also to confer the usual academical degrees." Further, the bishop of the church in the Diocese of Pittsburgh was named "*ex-officio* visitor and chancellor of all colleges and schools established by this corporation" and could require annual reports from them for presentation to the church.⁷²

Careful investigation has failed to reveal that the university achieved anything more than paper existence. There is no evidence that a single college, academy, or school was erected under its auspices. It apparently never emerged beyond the planning stage.

⁷⁰ Compare Sloan (ed.), *Presbytery of Kittanning*, 425; Smith, *Armstrong County*, 135; *Armstrong County, Pennsylvania: Her People, Past and Present*, I, 113.

⁷¹ Act of February 27, 1867, *Pennsylvania, Laws, 1867*, p. 282.

⁷² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER X

Baptist Colleges and Universities

1. EARLY EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

Although the records with respect to their activities are scanty, there is some evidence that the Baptists were alive to the need for education. At least one elementary school was connected with their church at Lower Dublin in 1732, and similar schools were established by Baptist pioneers in remote settlements of the Province.¹ Their early efforts respecting secondary education were less pronounced, and it was not until after the second half of the nineteenth century that church-sponsored academies and secondary schools made their appearance.²

The absence of Baptist colleges and theological seminaries in Pennsylvania prior to 1845 cannot be attributed entirely to the church's indifference to higher education. On the contrary, it was mainly through the efforts in the 1760's of members of the Philadelphia Baptist Association that Brown University was founded. Nor did their interest in the university diminish with the ensuing years. Local churches were frequently urged to contribute to the support of the Rhode Island college.³ It may be, consequently, that Baptist failure to establish local institutions of higher education in the early days of the colony and in the beginning years of the nineteenth century is attributable to the church's inability to spread its resources more widely.

2. COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

University at Lewisburg (now Bucknell University). Concerned over the "lamentable lethargy" pervading the Pennsylvania churches with respect to educating candidates for the ministry (a lethargy attributed by Baptists to the absence in the State of higher literary institutions controlled by them), the Northumberland Baptist Association appointed a committee on education charged with the task of

¹ Wickersham, *History of Education*, 101.

² Mulhern, *Secondary Education*, 73, 247.

³ Wickersham, *History of Education*, 103.

formulating plans "for the establishment of a Literary and Theological Institution in this State . . . embracing a high school for male pupils, another for females, a college, and also a theological Institution, to be under the influence of the Baptist denomination."⁴ In reporting their progress the following year, the committee announced that shortly after the adjournment of the association's meeting of 1845 a State committee had been formed for precisely the same purpose, and it was possessed of far greater facilities for executing the project. Consequently, they thought it expedient to await the action of the broader committee.⁵

The State committee, styling itself the Baptist Literary Association of Pennsylvania, appointed Professor S. W. Taylor as general agent in October, 1845, and invested him with the responsibility of preparing a charter, formulating laws and regulations for the university, collecting information relative to the construction of college buildings, devising a course of studies and selecting the scientific apparatus essential for its successful prosecution, and planning a catalogue of books for the library.⁶

It was with some misgivings that the general agent presented his charter petition to the legislature, because, as he expressed it:

It had been deemed necessary to give the charter a strikingly peculiar form in order to place and preserve the University under the control of regular Baptists and this peculiarity threw heavy difficulties in the way of its passing through the Legislative committees, and occasioned the agent no little care and exertion. . . .

His anxiety, however, proved baseless, since only seventeen days elapsed from the time of its presentation before the legislature in February,

⁴ *Minutes of the Twenty-fourth Annual Session of the Northumberland Baptist Association* . . . (Sunbury, 1845), August 14, 1845, pp. 8-9, 11.

⁵ *Minutes of the Twenty-fifth Annual Session of the Northumberland Baptist Association* . . . (Lewisburg, 1846), August 13, 1846, p. 12.

⁶ Samuel P. Bates, "Report on the University at Lewisburg," *Pennsylvania School Journal*, XI (May, 1863), 347; A. S. Burrows, "Union County," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 551; S. W. Taylor, "Origin of the University at Lewisburg," University at Lewisburg, Minutes of Trustees, I, Treasurer's Office, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. In a resolution of August 25, 1849, the board of trustees requested Professor S. W. Taylor to prepare a paper on the origin of the university. After it had been written, the board adopted the brief historical sketch and ordered it to be recorded in the minute book immediately preceding the charter. *Ibid.*, April 18, 1850. This sketch will hereafter be cited as Taylor, "Origin of the University."

1846, unanimously granted the charter in the identical form in which it had been asked.⁷

The charter affirms the fact that "The Baptists of Pennsylvania, as a denomination, are not now engaged for the maintenance of any particular college or university in this state." It equates the educational interests of the Baptists with those of the Commonwealth by declaring that "The chartering of a university, to be placed under their . . . supervision . . . would be a measure well adapted to call forth, from all parts of this commonwealth . . . the efforts of said denomination, and thereby promote the general interests of science, literature and good morals." In view of these considerations, a university "is erected and established, at or near the borough of Lewisburg, in the county of Union, in this commonwealth . . . to consist of a primary school and academy, a college, and such other departments appropriate to a university as the patrons and managers of said institution shall find themselves able to maintain . . ." to be named "'The University at Lewisburg.'" ⁸

To manage, govern, and supervise the university, a board of trustees, not exceeding twenty, and a board of curators, not exceeding forty, were provided for. All the trustees and a majority of the curators were required to be regular members of the Baptist denomination. The curators of the university, including among their number the Governor, the Secretary of the Commonwealth, the judges of the Supreme Court, and the president of the university, were "required and expected to attend the principal examinations and the annual commencements of the university. . . ." The consent of a majority of the curators present was made necessary for a student's promotion or for his receiving a degree. Having secured the approbation of the curators, the president and professors were empowered to confer such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences "as have been usually granted in other universities. . . ." Further, the charter prohibited the corporation from selecting teachers or admitting pupils on the basis of their religious sentiments.⁹

According to the provisions of the charter, the trustees were to purchase a lot or farm, erect suitable buildings thereon, and procure the requisite library and apparatus for the university as soon as they obtained "in the form of subscriptions believed to be valid" the sum

⁷ Taylor, "Origin of the University."

⁸ Act of February 5, 1846, Pennsylvania. *Laws*, 1846, p. 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*

of \$100,000.¹⁰ A campaign to raise such an endowment had already been initiated by the Baptist Literary Association of Pennsylvania. In the course of a few days after the announcement of the subscription drive, \$20,000 was pledged within the limits of the Northumberland Association alone; and the general agent, apart from his assigned duties, succeeded in obtaining \$8,000 in Philadelphia.¹¹ To stimulate further contributions to the fund, the board of trustees resolved to give "every individual who shall subscribe and pay five hundred dollars for the use of the University a certificate for the free tuition of one pupil in perpetuity . . . whenever the subscription of One hundred thousand dollars shall have been completed."¹² So successfully had the campaign been waged, that scarcely three years after its inception the trustees were able to announce the realization of their goal of a subscribed endowment of \$100,000.¹³

Reasonably assured of an adequate financial base, the trustees opened the high school or academical department of the university on October 5, 1846, in the basement of the Lewisburg Baptist Church, with twenty-two students and two teachers.¹⁴ Shortly afterward, the executive committee of the trustees was requested to procure a plan for the university buildings, and a site was chosen for the "Male Academy."¹⁵

The university records are silent as to when the first collegiate classes were organized. In January, 1848, a committee was appointed "to make out a course of study for the collegiate department and report to the Board at their next meeting in August."¹⁶ The following August, Professor S. W. Taylor was chosen to the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy, but was requested "to continue in charge of the Lewisburg High School until said University shall go into operation."¹⁷ Presumably, college classes were organized in January, 1849, for at that time two additional professors were elected—one for the Greek language and literature and the other for the Latin language and literature.¹⁸ In August, 1850, the faculty announced "that the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Taylor, "Origin of the University."

¹² University at Lewisburg, Minutes of Trustees, I, May 3, 1848.

¹³ *Ibid.*, January 18, 1849.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, December 26, 1846; Taylor, "Origin of the University"; Bates, "Report on the University at Lewisburg," *Pennsylvania School Journal*, XI (May, 1863), 347.

¹⁵ University at Lewisburg, Minutes of Trustees, I, August 23, 1847; February 2, 1848.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1848.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, August 29, 1848.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, January 18, 1849.

first senior class was about to be formed and that the trustees should employ a President of the University to take charge of their instruction."¹⁹ Two days later both the trustees and the curators recognized the existence of a full collegiate department, the former having passed a resolution to invest "said Department . . . with all the rights, powers, and privileges usually pertaining to Col[le]giate Institutions."²⁰

Although the minutes of the trustees do not record the action taken with respect to the labors of the committee appointed in 1848 to formulate a program of studies for the four years of college, the first catalogue of the university (1850-1851) does contain such a curriculum.²¹ Seven students who had completed the prescribed curriculum in 1851 were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree, the first to be conferred by the university.²²

It should be noted here, because of its curricular significance, that simultaneously with the graduating of the first college class the faculty proposed and the trustees adopted a three-year scientific course leading to the Bachelor of Philosophy degree. The new curriculum was to be identical with the four-year program of studies, save that one term of mensuration, two terms of analytical geometry, two terms of history, and one term of physiology were to replace the twenty-one terms occupied by Latin and Greek.²³ Having successfully pursued this course of study, one student was awarded the Bachelor of Philosophy degree in 1853.²⁴

Monongahela College. Desirous of providing for the Baptists of western Pennsylvania the kind of educational opportunities offered to the communicants of the church in central Pennsylvania by the University at Lewisburg, a joint committee of the Ten Mile and Monongahela Baptist Associations in February, 1867, resolved to found a college within the bounds of the former association. It was anticipated that the first session of the school would open on the first Monday of May, 1868.²⁵ Five acres of land were purchased; subscriptions of be-

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1850.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, August 26, 1850; University at Lewisburg, Minutes of Curators, I, August 26, 1850, Treasurer's Office, Bucknell University.

²¹ University at Lewisburg, *Catalogue* (1850-51), 21-22. All the early catalogues are preserved in the Registrar's Office, Bucknell University.

²² University at Lewisburg, Minutes of Curators, I, August 19, 1851.

²³ University at Lewisburg, Minutes of Trustees, I, August 20, 1851; University at Lewisburg, *Catalogue* (1851-52), 20.

²⁴ University at Lewisburg, Minutes of Curators, I, August 17, 1853.

²⁵ *Minutes of the Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the Monongahela Regular Baptist Association . . .* (Pittsburgh, 1867), August 31, 1867, p. 7.

tween \$8,000 and \$10,000 were obtained from the residents of Jefferson, Greene County, and vicinity; and a building was planned whose total cost, including the lot, would range between \$12,000 and \$15,000. At the same time (September, 1868) it was reported that the opening of the institution had been deferred because of the failure of the building committee to obtain a contractor.²⁶

From this time on the projected plans for the college began to materialize. Two professors were employed, and classes were initiated April 1, 1869.²⁷ A contractor was obtained in August, 1870, and it was expected that the building, though incomplete, would be sufficiently ready to receive classes by October 1, 1871.²⁸ The legislature in March, 1871, granted a charter to Monongahela College.²⁹

In most respects the charter was a duplicate of the act incorporating the University at Lewisburg. It permitted the establishment of a college, a female seminary, a theological department, and a primary school under the management and direction of a board of trustees, all of whom were required to be members of the regular Baptist denomination. The charter, like that of the University at Lewisburg, provided for a board of curators which included the Governor, the Secretary of the Commonwealth, the judges of the Supreme Court, the judges of the fourteenth judicial district, and the president and faculty of the college. Their duties, however, differed from those of the curators of the university in that they were charged with the raising of funds for the institution and were not empowered to approve or disapprove the granting of degrees. This function was reserved for the faculty with the consent of the board of trustees. The charter prohibited the trustees from encumbering the real estate or any other property of the institution and from involving it in any debt except as provided in the original agreement.³⁰

True to predictions, the college building was partially completed but in a sufficiently satisfactory state to receive its first class on October 23, 1871. A president had been elected and a faculty chosen, consisting of a teacher of mathematics, a teacher of natural science, a teacher of

²⁶ *Minutes of the Tenth Annual Session of the Ten Mile Baptist Association . . .* (Waynesburg, Pa., 1868), September 12, 1868, pp. 4-5.

²⁷ *Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Session of the Ten Mile Baptist Association . . .* (place and date of publication torn off, [1870]), September 12, 1870, p. 3; Act of March 14, 1871, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1871*, p. 342.

²⁸ *Waynesburg Republican*, August 17, 1870; *Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Session of the Ten Mile Baptist Association*, September 12, 1870, p. 3.

²⁹ Act of March 14, 1871, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1871*, p. 342.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

language, a teacher of music, and a principal of the female department with her assistant.³¹ The completed college building was dedicated on July 4, 1872, and was reported to be housing approximately 125 students in the fall.³²

The lack of catalogues prior to the lone, extant catalogue of 1882-1883 makes it impossible to determine the nature of the early college curriculum. Presumably, a college course was offered in 1874-1875, since the report of the United States Commissioner of Education covering that period lists Monongahela College as having a four-year college course with five male and two female freshmen, one male and three female sophomores, no juniors, and one female senior in the collegiate department.³³ A single Bachelor of Arts degree was conferred by the college in 1876; and, intermittently thereafter, both honorary degrees and degrees in course were awarded up to and including 1886.³⁴

Financial difficulties early beset the struggling institution. In 1872 the trustees of the college, who also served as the committee on education of the Ten Mile Baptist Association, urged that an endowment of \$100,000 be raised by "absolute donations . . . to be paid in cash or notes."³⁵ That this campaign was relatively unsuccessful is evidenced by the plea of the trustees two years later that "We need and must have funds for the liquidation of the debts, and for the endowment of the College."³⁶ Although the prospects appeared brighter in 1877—the trustees reported that the current expenses had been fully met by its income, and another source claimed that the college had an endowment of \$30,000 and an annual income of \$2,800³⁷—by 1880 the situation had become so serious as to force the committee on

³¹ *Minutes of the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Ten Mile Baptist Association . . .* (Philadelphia, 1871), September 6, 1871, p. 4; T. J. Teal, "Greene County," *PRSCS*, 1871, pp. 96-97.

³² "Another New College," *Pennsylvania School Journal*, XXI (October, 1872), 136.

³³ *USRCE*, 1875, p. 735.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1876, pp. 768-69; *ibid.*, 1879, p. 606; *ibid.*, 1881, p. 658; *ibid.*, 1882-1883, pp. 682-83; *ibid.*, 1883-1884, p. 714; *ibid.*, 1884-1885, pp. 680-81; *ibid.*, 1885-1886, pp. 585-86.

³⁵ *Minutes of the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Ten Mile Baptist Association*, September 6, 1871, p. 4. At this meeting the association adopted the proposal of the chairman of the college board of trustees that the trustees also serve as the committee on education. See *Minutes of the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Ten Mile Baptist Association . . .* (Waynesburg, Pa., 1872), September 9, 1872, p. 5.

³⁶ *Minutes of the Sixteenth Anniversary of the Ten Mile Baptist Association . . .* (Waynesburg, Pa., 1874), September 12, 1874, p. 4.

³⁷ *Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Ten Mile Baptist Association . . .* (Waynesburg, Pa., 1877), September 9, 1877, pp. 4-5; A. F. Silveus, "Monongahela College," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 288.

education to announce: "That the present condition of the College is such that unless a more general liberality is shown toward it, and more interest taken in it by its patronizers, it must at no distant date 'fall through.'"³⁸ Their warning was prophetic; the college was discontinued in 1888.³⁹

Some attempt was made to revive the institution in 1891. Solomon F. Hogue attained the presidency of Monongahela College in 1891 and in the same year graduated eight students, two of whom received the Master of Arts degree and one the Doctor of Philosophy degree.⁴⁰ He sent reports of the school's progress to the United States Commissioner of Education and tried to enlist the support of the Ten Mile Baptist Association.⁴¹ Students were admitted at any time and without examination, for, President Hogue declared: "A few moments conversation with the applicant will determine as certainly as any examination what studies and what advancement the student is fitted for."⁴²

The evidence is conclusive that after 1888 this was a proprietary school and not a legally incorporated college empowered to confer degrees. It had no board of trustees.⁴³ Further, the Ten Mile Baptist Association, perhaps suspicious of the claims of the new institution, appointed a committee to investigate the school that "is known as Monongahela College." The committee reported as follows:

That on the authority of this charter [of Monongahela College] and under its provisions . . . the trustees . . . collected large sums of money from the people with which they purchased ground and erected buildings . . . at a total cost of \$27,000.

³⁸ *Minutes of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Ten Mile Baptist Association* . . . (Waynesburg, Pa., 1880), August 19, 1880, p. 5.

³⁹ *USRCE, 1887-1888*, p. 713.

⁴⁰ Monongahela College, *Catalogue* (1891-92), 1, 13, in President's Office, Waynesburg College, Waynesburg, Pennsylvania.

⁴¹ *USRCE, 1891-1892*, 11, 1153; *ibid.*, 1892-1893, 11, 1964; *Minutes of the Thirty-third Anniversary of the Ten Mile Baptist Association* . . . (Waynesburg, Pa., 1891), September 4, 1891, pp. 12 ff.; *Minutes of the Thirty-fourth Anniversary of the Ten Mile Baptist Association* (n.p., 1892), September 21, 1892, p. 5.

⁴² Monongahela College, *Catalogue* (1891-92), 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 5. To explain this unusual fact, the catalogue states: "The Trustees not having been elected this year none are reported." Hogue was apparently unaware that the board of trustees under the provisions of the charter was a self-perpetuating body.

That the said trustees . . . maintained a school here until the year 1888, in which year the last term of the school was held under their direction, and the last official meeting of any board of trustees was held.

That the said board of trustees . . . did in direct violation of the provisions of the Charter, incur a debt which became a lien upon the property.

That by virtue of an execution issued thereon out of the Courts of Greene County, the Sheriff of Greene County did, on the fifth day of October, 1891, sell the franchises of the institution at public outcry to the highest bidder for ten dollars. And on the second day of January, 1892, he likewise sold the grounds and buildings in the same manner for the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars, and thus the entire belongings of Monongahela College became private property.⁴⁴

Denied the indispensable prerequisite of a charter for corporate existence as a college with the right to confer degrees and denied the patronage of the religious denomination upon whom it depended for students and financial support, the school styling itself "Monongahela College" soon passed from the scholastic scene. An advertisement appeared in the local newspaper in 1894 signed by Solomon F. Hogue, offering the college's furniture and fixtures for sale, and announcing that "The dwelling house and grounds formerly known as Monongahela College premises are for rent now and the college building will be for rent after June 30th, 1891."⁴⁵

Temple University. Intent on preparing themselves for the ministry, yet unable to support themselves at college, "six or eight young men" of the Grace Baptist Church of Philadelphia in the spring of 1887 decided to devote their evenings to study under the direction of their pastor, Russell H. Conwell, at the same time that they pursued their daily occupations.⁴⁶ No sooner was this opportunity for evening study made known than the number of applicants increased until within a few weeks 161 names of those who had applied for admission were enrolled, necessitating some form of formal organization. Accordingly, the Young Men's Association of the Grace Baptist Church

⁴⁴ *Minutes of the Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the Ten Mile Baptist Association* (n.p., 1893), September 21, 1893, p. 12.

⁴⁵ *Jefferson (Pa.) News*, May 19, 1894.

⁴⁶ Grace Baptist Church, *Our Church Home*, December 1, 1887, p. 1, in Temple University Library, Philadelphia.

appointed a temporary board of trustees to manage the affairs of the rapidly mushrooming institution.⁴⁷

The trustees held their first meeting October 4, 1887, and resolved to name the school "The Temple College." They elected the Reverend Russell H. Conwell as president of the faculty of Temple College; Dr. E. S. Fitz as professor of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and M. Kornstine as professor of German. Committees were appointed to apply for articles of incorporation, to draft rules for the "college," and to secure the necessary finances.⁴⁸

Evidently feeling the need for wider counsel in determining the function and purposes of the newly organized institution, Conwell issued a call to all the Baptist churches of Philadelphia, October 21, 1887, for a "Council" to be held October 31, 1887. Thirty-four churches responded to the summons and were asked to consider and to offer answers to the following questions:

I. Should the evening school which we have opened for our students for the ministry be extended so as to include, if possible, all young men in the Baptist Churches who cannot support themselves at school away from their daily work?

II. Should we consider this extraordinary demand for such a school as the direction of God to establish a permanent institution by charter?

III. Should the School or College be confined exclusively to workingmen and the tuition kept free to all?

IV. Should we confine the recitations solely to evening hours or plan day sessions in the future?

V. Should the Students from other Christian denominations be admitted at all, or, if admitted should they enter on the same terms with our own?

VI. Should the School receive on equal terms all members of Baptist Churches who wish for higher education; but do not intend to enter the ministry?⁴⁹

The council responded by resolving to "answer affirmatively the first question provided that the authorities of the school require of each applicant the endorsement of the church of which he is a member, and provided also that the studies pursued be regarded as preparatory to a higher course of study before publicly entering upon the work of

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, I, October 4, 1887, p. 3, Temple University Library.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, October 31, 1887, pp. 12-14.

the Gospel Ministry." It felt unprepared, however, "in this early stage of the school," to advise concerning the other questions; but it expressed its "cordial sympathy with Grace Baptist Church in opening an evening school, to provide a preliminary education while pursuing their daily avocation, for young men desiring to enter upon the ministry and other Christian work."⁵⁰

Despite the inconclusive nature of the council's deliberations, it was determined to proceed with the erection of a permanent organization. A new board of trustees was elected by the Grace Baptist Church.⁵¹ Certificates of admission to the college classes were ordered printed.⁵² With a view of purchasing the lot and building owned by the Grace Baptist Church, stock was issued in the amount of \$50,000 at \$100 per share, entitling the purchaser to an interest in the buildings and to one vote in the management of the corporation for each share held. At the same time a committee was appointed to negotiate a loan of \$500 for the running expenses of the college "for the present year"; and application was made to the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia County for a charter of the first class.⁵³

By decree of the court, a corporation "to exist perpetually" was established by the name of "The Temple College of Philadelphia." The purpose of the corporation was declared to be "the support of an educational institution intended primarily for the benefit of workmen." However, the charter failed to grant the college the right to confer degrees.⁵⁴

In accordance with the purpose, as stated in the charter, the institution announced that its doors would be opened to all working men and women without charge for tuition and regardless of religious sect or denomination. Those students who were admitted were expected to prepare themselves for entering the professions as "Ministers, Lawyers, Physicians, Professors, Engineers, Missionaries, Writers, Public Speakers and the higher ranks of Business life." For, as Conwell maintained, the church should be instrumental in providing the most

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, January 3, 1888, p. 17.

⁵² *Ibid.*, January 13, 1888, p. 18.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, March 17, April 16, 1888, pp. 25, 33-34; Temple College, Stock Subscription Book, issued to Edward O. Elliott, May 10, 1888; stock certificate issued to Russell H. Conwell, June 1, 1888; Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, I, March 10, April 23, 1888, pp. 21-23, 39-40.

⁵⁴ Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 13, p. 270 (May 12, 1888), City Hall, Philadelphia.

practicable kind of education, "enabling a Christian to honestly earn a larger income for himself and family."⁵⁵

There were no special requirements for admission, since it was "the purpose of the faculty . . . to assist any ambitious young man, without especial reference to previous study."⁵⁶ Presumably circumscribed in their efforts to provide a course of instruction of recognized college caliber by the lack of degree-granting powers, the trustees convened a special meeting to consider amendments to the charter that would remedy this deficiency.⁵⁷ Their subsequent petition to the court was successful, for, by decree of the Court of Common Pleas (April, 1891), the charter was enlarged to permit women as well as men to attend the institution and to allow the corporation to "have the right, power and authority to confer all the usual College Titles and Degrees."⁵⁸

The right to confer degrees was not immediately accompanied by the adoption of a four-year college curriculum leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree. Courses of study of a secondary nature were in operation during this period; and the first degree conferred was the Bachelor of Oratory degree upon eighteen graduates of the Reverend Mr. Conwell's "class in oratory."⁵⁹ A college course commensurate with those extant in the recognized colleges of the day awaited the initiation of day classes. Although a day "Academy" had been opened in 1891, it was not until 1893 that the organization of a "full day department" was announced.⁶⁰

Simultaneously with the opening of the "full day department," the college catalogue contained a bare outline of a course of study for which the Bachelor of Arts degree was to be conferred.⁶¹ To administer this course of study, there was a faculty consisting of a professor of mental philosophy and oratory; a professor of Latin, Greek, French, and German; a professor of mathematics and natural science; a pro-

⁵⁵ *The Temple College. What Is It?* (Philadelphia, 1888), 5 ff.; Grace Baptist Church, *Temple Pulpit*, II (November, 1890), 7.

⁵⁶ Temple College, *Catalogue and Prospectus* (1888), 10, Temple University Library.

⁵⁷ Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, I, March 19, 1889, p. 80; Temple College, Minutes of Corporation, I, February 21, 1891, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 17, p. 140 (April 8, 1891).

⁵⁹ Grace Baptist Church, *Temple Magazine*, III (August 28, 1891), 14; Temple College, Minutes of Corporation, I, June 6, 1892, p. 6.

⁶⁰ Grace Baptist Church, *Temple Magazine*, III (January 22, 1891), 14; Temple College, *Catalogue* (1893-94), 1 ff.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 21. Indeed, page 15 contains the statement that "The full College Course (Classical and Scientific) leads to degrees of A.B., B.S. and Post-Graduate studies to Ph.D."

fessor of biblical theology and Bible school instruction; a professor of grammar and arithmetic; a professor of history, literature, and rhetoric; a professor of botany; a professor of stenography and type-writing; a professor of elocution; a professor of bookkeeping; a professor of penmanship; a professor of mechanical drawing; and a professor of music. There are indications that this curriculum and the staff to conduct it were not considered sufficiently advanced to meet the standards set for the college of that age. The course in mathematics, for example, did not proceed beyond trigonometry.⁶² Further, in 1895 the instruction committee of the board of trustees was requested to notify each teacher that extensive changes in the program were contemplated and that in all probability there would be no further need for his services.⁶³

Such a reorganization did in fact take place. The catalogue for 1895-1896 states that the faculty for the "full College and College Preparatory Departments" are all "Graduates of leading Colleges and Universities, and qualified to give instruction according to the most recent and advanced methods of education." Specific requirements are listed for entrance to the freshman class, and a course of study describing the subjects offered is given for the freshman year.⁶⁴ The following year the catalogue contains the offerings for the sophomore class; and, finally, the catalogue of 1897-1898 presents the curriculum for all four years of the college course.⁶⁵ Four years after the publishing of the full college course, three students were awarded the first Bachelor of Arts degrees to be conferred by Temple College.⁶⁶

Despite the charter amendment of 1891, empowering the institution to confer degrees, and the adoption of a full four-year program in the arts and sciences, official State and federal agencies failed to recognize Temple College as having achieved collegiate status. The reports of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1898-1899, and 1899-1900, while acknowledging the existence of schools of law and theology at Temple College, persist in classifying the institution in the category of "private high schools, endowed academies, seminaries and other private secondary schools."⁶⁷ It was not until 1908, after schools of

⁶² *Ibid.*, 3-4. This is the only course that enjoys any specific description; all other disciplines in the college course are mentioned by name only.

⁶³ Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, I, April 6, 1895, p. 161.

⁶⁴ Temple College, *Catalogue* (1895-96), 18-20.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* (1896-97), 18; *ibid.* (1897-98), 19 ff.

⁶⁶ Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, II, June 1, 1901, p. 152.

⁶⁷ *USRCE, 1898-1899*, pp. 1702-1703, 2120-21; *ibid.*, 1899-1900, pp. 1982-83.

theology, law, pharmacy, medicine, and dentistry had been established and the charter had been amended by the Court of Common Pleas, changing the name from Temple College to Temple University, that the Pennsylvania College and University Council listed the institution among the State's "Colleges and Universities."⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Temple College, *Catalogue* (1895-96), 30-34, 35-37; *ibid.* (1901-02), 151; *ibid.* (1902-03), 151-53; Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, II, March 23, 1901, p. 142; III, December 1, 1906, p. 210; Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 37, p. 38 (December 12, 1907); College and University Council, "Biennial Report on Higher Education in Pennsylvania," *PRSPI*, 1908, pp. 542-43.

CHAPTER XI

Catholic Higher Education

I. BACKGROUND

Prior to 1850 there were sporadic and isolated attempts by adherents of the Catholic church to establish institutions of higher learning in Pennsylvania. These were secondary in nature and lived scarcely beyond their infancy. Among the earliest was a seminary, commonly called "Mount Airy College," founded in 1807 by the Reverend Francis Xavier Brosius.¹ In January of that year he announced publicly that he intended to open "A Seminary for the Education of Youth," and offered his services "to such parents as are desirous to procure to their children a Classical Education in the French, English, Latin and Greek languages, Ancient and Modern History, Geography, the Use of Globes and Maps, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, &c." The school was to be located a few miles from Philadelphia.²

A few months later Father Brosius again advertised in the *Aurora* informing the public that his seminary had been opened on March 16 as he had planned; that he had obtained such assistance as he deemed sufficient to do justice to all who might be committed to his care; and that students, if they so desired, could be taught "dancing, drawing and music" in addition to the subjects previously advertised.³ The school, under Father Brosius, was destined to be short-lived. An entry in the diary of the Reverend Patrick Kenny on August 24, 1811, noted that the "Rev. Mr. Brosius sold out at Mt. Airy & came to Town [Philadelphia], yesterday."⁴

¹ Martin I. J. Griffin, *American Catholic Historical Researches*, V (October, 1888), 155-59; Thomas H. Shoemaker, "A List of the Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809," *PMHB*, XVI (1892), 51 n. 3; Edward W. Hocker, *Germantown, 1683-1933* (Philadelphia, 1933), 139; S. F. Hotchkin, *Ancient and Modern Germantown, Mt. Airy and Chestnut Hill* (Philadelphia, 1889), 367-70.

² Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 8, 1807.

³ *Ibid.*, April 21, 1807.

⁴ Martin I. J. Griffin (ed.), "Extracts from the Diary of Rev. Patrick Kenny," *American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Records*, VII (1896), 109; James Burns, *The Catholic School System in the United States* (New York, 1908), 170, erroneously states that Brosius closed the seminary in 1813.

The property which housed Brosius' seminary continued to serve as a school building from time to time under various proprietors. In 1827 the trustees of Lafayette College, evidently influenced by common usage, appointed a committee "to confer with the gentlemen having the charge of Mount Airy College for the purpose of ascertaining whether they are willing to become connected with this Institution. . . ."⁵ The "gentlemen," B. Constant and A. S. Roumfort, employing the name "American Classical & Military Lyceum," rejected the offer October 21, 1827, on the grounds that they owned the property, had "Eighty Scholars all boarders with fair hopes of increase," and that it would be contrary to their interests "to abandon such substantial advantages for mere expectations at any other place."⁶ A year later (1828) the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, after examining a graduate "from Mount Airy College," agreed to his admission to the freshman class "on trial," with the recommendation "that he take private lessons in Mathematics, in which he was found deficient."⁷ Apparently, the owners of the lyceum continued to prosper for some twenty years longer, for the school continued in operation until its demise in 1848 or 1849.⁸

After the passage of more than a quarter of a century from the founding of "Mount Airy College," another effort was made by an individual to establish a college for Catholics in Pennsylvania. This venture, however, proved to be stillborn. The Reverend Jeremiah Keily, pastor of St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia, purchased a plot of ground known as Laurel Hill on the Ridge Road near Girard College and resigned his pastoral office in 1834 so that he could devote his energies to the erecting of Laurel Hill College.⁹ In an advertisement dated November 22, 1834, and published December 4, 1834, he informed the public that he would open the institution on January 1, 1835, in buildings sufficiently spacious to accommodate 150 students. He declared it as his intention to apply to the legislature for an act

⁵ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, I, August 14, 1827, p. 14.

⁶ *Ibid.*, February 16, 1828, pp. 14-15.

⁷ University of Pennsylvania, Minutes of Faculty of the Arts, April 15, 1828, University of Pennsylvania Archives.

⁸ V. M., "Early Catholic Secondary Education in Philadelphia," American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, *Records*, LIX (September, 1948), 170.

⁹ Francis Patrick Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record of the Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Administrator and Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830-1851 . . .*, translated and edited by F. E. T[oruscher] (Lancaster, 1916), entry of November 8, 1834, p. 104; *Hazard's Register*, XIV (November 22, 1834), 336; *Philadelphia Catholic Herald*, November 27, 1834.

of incorporation, "so as to empower the institution to hold public commencements, and to admit its students to any degree in any of the arts and sciences and liberal professions, usually permitted to be conferred in other colleges."¹⁰

The course of instruction was to embrace "the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, French, Spanish, and German languages; Elocution, Poetry, Rhetoric, Logic, Metaphysics, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Chemistry, Mathematics in general, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Geography, History, Astronomy."¹¹ To administer this curriculum, "Gentlemen of high attainments and long experience in the Instruction of Youth will teach in the different branches." Special attention was to be paid "to the instruction of Catholic pupils in the duties of their religion." No student was to be admitted "under the age of *seven* nor above that of *fifteen*, unless for special reasons, and on no account unless he bears a good moral character."¹²

Acting in accordance with his advertised intention, the Reverend Mr. Keily applied for and received from the State legislature (April 13, 1835) an act incorporating Laurel Hill College in Penn Township, county of Philadelphia, "for the education of youth in the various branches of science and literature, and the learned and foreign languages. . . ." The institution was to be managed by a board of trustees not to exceed seven in number, and was empowered to confer "degrees in the liberal arts and sciences . . . as are usually granted in other colleges in the United States. . . ."¹³

Preliminary predictions of success and anticipations of "gratifying results to flow from this enterprise" were made in vain.¹⁴ In August, 1835, the very year of its incorporation and projected opening, the venture failed.¹⁵ As a final epitaph, the legislature in 1837 commemorated the passing of the institution by simultaneously incorporating "Laurel Hill Cemetery [*sic*]" on the grounds formerly occupied by the school and by repealing the act of 1835 which established the college.¹⁶

Enterprises of a permanent nature had to await more propitious social circumstances. The time was not ready for the creation of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, December 4, 1834. See also *Philadelphia United States Gazette*, December 14, 1834.

¹¹ *Philadelphia Catholic Herald*, December 4, 1834.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Act of April 13, 1835, *Pennsylvania, Laws, 1834-1835*, p. 217.

¹⁴ *Hazard's Register*, XIV (November 22, 1834), 336.

¹⁵ J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1884), II, 1375.

¹⁶ Act of February 9, 1837, *Pennsylvania, Laws, 1836-1837*, p. 15.

Catholic schools of higher education in Pennsylvania.¹⁷ Individuals, evidently, could obtain neither the staff nor the financial support such enterprises required. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century with the advent of religious orders, many of them directed toward the education of youth, that Catholic higher education in Pennsylvania began to emerge.

2. COLLEGES

Villanova University. With but five priests in the entire country in 1842, only three of whom were residing in Pennsylvania, the Brothers of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine obtained title to a farm called Belle-Air (now Villanova) in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, January 5, 1842.¹⁸ The property was intended to serve both as a monastery for the order and as a home for an educational institution. In keeping with this latter purpose, the Reverend Dr. Patrick E. Moriarty, commissary of the Augustinians, issued a brochure in 1842 proposing the establishment of a "Manual Labor College" and religious institution for the education of youth. "It is designed," he stated, "chiefly for the benefit of those who have not sufficient means to prosecute their studies in other colleges, or who may have a vocation to the ecclesiastical state."¹⁹

Classes were initiated in September, 1843, with thirteen students.²⁰ Little is known about the course of studies offered at this time, except that some of the boys read Cicero's *Orations* and Virgil, there was a class in Greek, and one of the students followed an advanced course in the classics.²¹ But the school had drawn but a few breaths of life before it was destroyed by the anti-Catholic riots in Philadelphia in 1844.

Using as a pretext the protest of Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick against the use of the Protestant version of the Bible by Catholic children attending the Philadelphia public schools and the consequent authorization by the board of education of the Catholic version for

¹⁷ Burns, *Catholic School System*, 261.

¹⁸ Thomas C. Middleton (comp.), *Historical Sketch of the Augustinian Monastery, College and Mission of St. Thomas of Villanova . . . 1842-1892* (Philadelphia, 1893), 14-15; Francis P. Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations and Development in the United States, 1677-1850* (Washington, D. C., 1924), 65.

¹⁹ Martin I. J. Griffin, *American Catholic Historical Researches*, XIX (October, 1902), 174-75; James W. Baker, "Delaware County," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 246.

²⁰ Order of St. Augustine, Register of Accounts, V, 206, in Monastery of Villanova University, Villanova, Pennsylvania; Middleton (comp.), *Historical Sketch*, 20.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

Catholics, adherents of the nativist movement vented their ire at the move by fomenting riots and by burning several churches and homes of Catholics.²² Among the buildings destroyed by fire was the order's church of St. Augustine in Philadelphia. Burdened by the loss of property and the strain of guarding against threats of similar destruction to the monastery and school at Villanova, the Augustinians determined to close the college temporarily.²³ In February, 1845, they announced their decision and expressed the hope "that the justice of their fellow-citizens by awarding a fair compensation of the losses sustained will soon enable the Augustinians to re-open the college."²⁴

Apparently recovered from the blows inflicted by the riots, the Augustinians in the autumn of 1846 advertised the reopening of their institution with a course of instruction designed to "embrace the languages, sciences, &c, usually taught in colleges," but which, in accordance with "the wish of parents or guardians," would be "so modified as to include only those branches which they desire their children or wards to be instructed." Further, they made it plain that: "As the study of the principles of the Catholic religion and a strict compliance with the duties which it prescribes, will be made imperative on the pupils sent to this institution, Catholic patronage *only* is solicited."²⁵

Up to this point in its checkered career Villanova College had been operating without benefit of legal sanction. A change of status was achieved in March, 1848, when the State legislature passed an act incorporating "The Augustinian college of Villa Nova, in the state of Pennsylvania." The charter stipulated that the college be managed by a board of seven trustees, enjoying the right of perpetual succession, all of whom were to be members of the Roman Catholic church. It empowered the faculty to confer the usual degrees in arts and sciences, "as are granted in other colleges or universities in the United States. . . ." The legislature, however, reserved "the right to alter, amend or annul the charter and privileges hereby granted, whenever, in their opinion the same may be necessary for the public good. . . ."²⁶

Following closely on the receipt of their charter, the trustees met and appointed a faculty consisting of the Very Reverend John P. O'Dwyer as president, a vice president and professor of theology and

²² Joseph L. J. Kirlin, *Catholicity in Philadelphia from the Earliest Missionaries down to the Present Time* (Philadelphia, 1909), 14.

²³ Middleton (comp.), *Historical Sketch*, 23, 26.

²⁴ *Philadelphia Catholic Herald*, February 20, 1845.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, September 17, 1846.

²⁶ Act of March 10, 1848, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1848*, p. 132.

moral philosophy, a prefect of studies and professor of English literature and history, a professor of Latin, one of Greek, one of natural philosophy and chemistry, one of mathematics, and a professor of modern languages.²⁷ At the same time the religious order which established the school decided to convey to the new corporation "the farm in Delaware County on which the College is situated," in "consideration of an annual charge of one hundred dollars."²⁸

Seven years elapsed from the date of its incorporation before the college exercised its charter-given right of granting degrees. At the commencement held June 27, 1855, two young men were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree, the first degrees conferred by Villanova College.²⁹ Despite the lack of a detailed program of studies, some idea of the college curriculum may be gleaned from the premiums distributed at this commencement. Prizes were awarded to students in "Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Geometry, Algebra, Arithmetic, Ancient and Modern Geography, History, ancient and modern, Latin, Greek, French, English, Book-keeping,—single and double, Ornamental Writing, Drawing, Piano, Violin, Elocution and Christian Doctrine."³⁰

Once again the life of the college was to be interrupted. In 1857 the Augustinian Fathers decided, without the compulsion of an external calamity, that it was to their best interest to close the college department and to devote their energies completely to their missions at Philadelphia, Chestnut Hill, Atlantic City, St. Denis, and Villanova. Accordingly, on commencement day, June 24, 1857, they bade farewell to their students and announced the cessation of their collegiate functions.³¹

It was not until 1865 that the decision was reached to reopen the college in September of that year.³² According to an entry in the journal of the Reverend Thomas C. Middleton for 1866, the course of studies in operation at this time was essentially similar to that which obtained

²⁷ Villanova College, Minutes of Trustees, I, May 1, 1848, pp. 3-4, in Monastery of Villanova University.

²⁸ Brothers of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, Acts and Proceedings of the Corporation, I, May 6, 1848, pp. 4-5, in Monastery of Villanova University.

²⁹ Middleton (comp.), *Historical Sketch*, 39-40.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

³² *Ibid.*, 42.

when the college was originally organized.³³ The lack of a published graded course of study persisted until 1871 when the college issued its first catalogue. At this time the college classes were designated "Fourth Collegiate," "Third Collegiate," "Second Collegiate," and "First Collegiate."³⁴ It was not until 1893 that the terms freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior were used to designate the college classes.³⁵

St. Francis College. Upon the solicitation of the Right Reverend Michael O'Connor, Bishop of Pittsburgh, six brothers of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis emigrated from Ireland in 1847 to found a branch of their house at Loretto, Pennsylvania.³⁶ Their building having been completed by the summer of 1850, the brothers set aside a portion of it for school purposes, and classes were begun in September of that year.³⁷ Application for a charter was made to the State legislature in 1856. However, the voicing of considerable opposition in the House of Representatives, where the community was charged with proselytizing the youth of the vicinity under the pretense of giving a classical and scientific education, caused the brothers to withdraw the petition.³⁸ Two years later the school was incorporated by the Court of Common Pleas of Cambria County as a secondary institution, without the power of conferring degrees, under the name of "The Academy of St. Francis."³⁹

Despite the assumption of the name "St. Francis College" in 1859 without benefit of charter amendment, the institution continued to

³³ Thomas C. Middleton, *Journal*, I (1866), 3-4. The journal, a handwritten manuscript in two volumes covering the period from 1866 to 1923, represents a chronological, though not a daily, recording of the main events and activities of the Augustinian monastery and Villanova College. Volume I covers the period from 1866 to May 10, 1891, and Volume II the period from May 10, 1891, to June 4, 1923. Father Middleton was connected with the monastery and the college continuously from 1851 to 1923, first as student and later as a professor and president of the school. The journal is preserved in the Monastery of Villanova University.

³⁴ Villanova College, *Catalogue* (1870-71), 9-10.

³⁵ *Ibid.* (1892-93), 13-14.

³⁶ H. Berg, "Cambria County," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 114; Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations*, 68; Father Bonaventure Kiley, T.O.R., to editor, *School and Society*, January 24, 1915, in St. Francis College Archives, Loretto, Pennsylvania.

³⁷ Berg, "Cambria County," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 114; Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations*, 68.

³⁸ *Loretto Centenary* (n.p., 1899), 264, St. Francis College Archives.

³⁹ Cambria County, Deed Book, No. 16, p. 477 (July 16, 1858), Courthouse, Ebensburg.

function as a secondary school.⁴⁰ The absence of complete college records makes it impossible to determine precisely the nature of the curricular offerings. However, the oldest extant document containing such information, a standard report card form issued in 1889 informing parents of student progress, lists courses generally offered by secondary schools of that period.⁴¹ This is confirmed by the earliest existing catalogue of the college published in 1892 and by subsequent catalogues up to and including the academic year 1907-1908. Further, the only "degree" conferred by St. Francis College for the period under consideration was "The Degree of Master of Accounts" first awarded in 1892 to four boys who completed the commercial course.⁴²

By 1909 the school had begun to depart from its essentially secondary school orientation and to move in the direction of adopting the program of a liberal arts college. This was manifested in part by the publication of a four-year graded college curriculum.⁴³ At the commencement of June, 1914, six students were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree.⁴⁴ These, so far as the records reveal, were the first degrees of collegiate rank conferred by St. Francis College. It may be noted here, that neither the original charter of 1858, nor the amendment of 1911 changing the name of the institution to St. Francis College, empowered the corporation to grant degrees. On March 10, 1913, the trustees filed a petition with the Court of Common Pleas of Cambria County requesting "a charter of incorporation as a University and Theological Seminary with the power to confer degrees." However, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction withheld its approval until 1920, at which time the Court of Common Pleas issued its final decree amending the college charter and awarding the trustees the legal right to confer degrees.⁴⁵ In 1949 the State Council of Edu-

⁴⁰ St. Francis College, Student Register (1858-1879), St. Francis College Archives; *First Annual Exhibition of St. Francis College*, commencement program, June 28, 1859, in St. Francis College Archives. It was not until 1911 that the Cambria County Court of Common Pleas amended the charter of the academy and changed its name to "St. Francis College." Cambria County, Miscellaneous Book, No. 13, p. 553 (April 4, 1911).

⁴¹ Report of the Proficiency of Master Thomas Callen, June 21, 1889, report card in St. Francis College Archives.

⁴² St. Francis College, *Catalogue* (1891-92), 6-7, 14; *ibid.* (1903-04); *ibid.* (1905-06).

⁴³ *Ibid.* (1909-10), 16-25.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* (1915-16), 86.

⁴⁵ Cambria County, Miscellaneous Book, No. 13, p. 538 (December 6, 1920); Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction, *Statistics of the Public Schools, 1919-1920, 1920-1921*, p. 962.

cation approved a further charter amendment to allow the institution to become coeducational.⁴⁶

St. Vincent College. With the transplanting of a branch of the Benedictine Order from Bavaria to Unity Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, by the Reverend Boniface Wimmer in 1846, the basis was laid for the establishing of St. Vincent College.⁴⁷ An unsuccessful attempt was made to begin the college in 1848. However, it was not until the autumn of 1849 that the institution was formally opened with an enrollment of thirteen boys.⁴⁸

Little is known of the course of studies during the formative years of the college's existence. The earliest recorded document containing information concerning the curriculum, a single-page, handwritten circular or announcement (c. 1858 or 1859) attributed to the institution's founder, Father Wimmer, merely states that "The course of studies embraces both the ancient and modern languages, Mathematics, Belles-Lettres &c., as also those sciences necessary for the trading classes."⁴⁹ That this was essentially a secondary school program is substantiated both by the nature of the course of studies contained in the college's first printed catalogue, published in 1860 and by the estimate of the county superintendent of common schools of Westmoreland County in 1865.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Cambria County, Miscellaneous Book, No. 23, p. 193 (January 19, 1949); *PRSPI*, 1948-1950, p. 10. With this amendment, St. Francis College became the second Catholic college in Pennsylvania to admit both men and women to pursue undergraduate courses leading to degrees. Duquesne University achieved the distinction of being the first Catholic coeducational institution of higher education, not only in Pennsylvania but, according to a university publication, in the entire nation, by graduating two Sisters of Mercy in 1912. Duquesne University, *Duke*, March 5, 1950, p. 2. The catalogue of the university for 1916 records the names of two women awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree June 20, 1916. Duquesne University, *Catalogue* (July 1, 1916), 78. St. Francis College had in fact earlier anticipated such a move, for in 1943 it had already graduated its first two women students with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. St. Francis College, *Commencement Program*, January 25, 1943, St. Francis College Archives.

⁴⁷ St. Vincent College, *Catalogue* (1859-60), 3; Salvador Federici, "Higher Education," *Catholic Pittsburgh's One Hundred Years, 1843-1943* (Chicago, 1943), 144 ff.; "St. Vincent Archabbey and College, 1846-1946," *Pittsburgh Catholic*, Centenary Supplement, August 29, 1946, p. 9.

⁴⁸ Federici, "Higher Education," *Catholic Pittsburgh's One Hundred Years*, 147; Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations*, 67.

⁴⁹ St. Vincent College, Announcement (c. 1858 or 1859), St. Vincent College Archives, Latrobe, Pennsylvania.

⁵⁰ See St. Vincent College, *Catalogue* (1859-60), 4; S. S. Jack, "Westmoreland County," *PRCS*, 1865, p. 202.

In April, 1870, the Benedictine Fathers obtained a charter from the State legislature incorporating St. Vincent College near present Latrobe in the township of Unity, in the county of Westmoreland, "for the education of youth in the various branches of science," literature and the arts," and with the power to "confer such degrees in the arts and sciences . . . as are granted in other colleges or universities in the United States. . . ." ⁵¹ Now possessing the legal right, the institution announced that "The degree of Bachelor of Arts is conferred upon students who pass a satisfactory examination in all the languages and sciences taught in the classical course." The classical course was basically identical with that offered in 1859-1860. ⁵² Two young men, who successfully completed the required course of study, were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree at the commencement held June 28, 1871, the first degrees to be conferred by St. Vincent College. ⁵³

St. Joseph's College (Philadelphia). Initiated by the Society of Jesus, St. Joseph's College was the first post-secondary institution established by the Jesuits in Pennsylvania. Housed in a building specifically constructed for school purposes and located at Willings Alley near Fourth and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, the college opened its doors for the admission of students September 15, 1851. ⁵⁴ A few months later (January 10, 1852) the State legislature incorporated "The Saint Joseph's College, in the city of Philadelphia," investing the corporators with the right of perpetual succession. ⁵⁵

The charter specified the object and design of the corporation to be "the establishment of a college, within the limits of the city and county of Philadelphia, in which are to be taught the elementary branches of education, together with the sciences and modern and ancient languages. . . ." Possibly indicative of the tenor of the time was the failure of the charter to indicate either the church or the religious order under whose patronage the institution was to be conducted. Further, it lacked the necessary provision empowering the college to confer degrees. ⁵⁶

⁵¹ Act of April 18, 1870, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1870*, p. 1227.

⁵² St. Vincent College, *Catalogue* (1870-71), 8. Compare *ibid.* (1859-60), 4; *ibid.* (1870-71), 6-7.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁵⁴ Francis X. Talbot, *Jesuit Education in Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's College, 1851-1926* (Philadelphia, 1927), 36-38.

⁵⁵ Act of January 29, 1852, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1852*, p. 16.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

With respect to its curricular offerings, the institution had a modest beginning. The first catalogue of St. Joseph's College, issued in 1853, advertised a secondary school program divided into two departments, the "Classical and Mercantile."⁵⁷ This remained in force with occasional modifications until 1857, when the course of studies was reconstructed in accordance with the requirements of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, and at the close of which the successful candidate was to be awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree.⁵⁸ One student of those who had entered the college on its opening day in 1851 persevered to the end, completing each of the successively higher classes. Upon him, St. Joseph's College conferred its first degree, the Bachelor of Arts degree, at the commencement held July 8, 1858.⁵⁹

In the meantime the college had moved in 1856 from its original quarters in Willing's Alley to the corner of Filbert and Juniper Streets.⁶⁰ Contrary to expectations, this was not accompanied by increased enrollments or financial well-being. The number of students attending the institution decreased from a high of 149 reached during the year of the removal to barely one hundred in 1859.⁶¹ Indebtedness continued to mount to such a point that Father Ward, president of the college, stated in October, 1859, that the institution was "burdened with a debt that I can see no prospect of ever paying."⁶² Consequently, the decision was reached in 1860 to relinquish the buildings at Filbert and Juniper Streets and to return to Willing's Alley.⁶³

From this point, the institution ceased to function as a college and reverted to its natal state as a secondary school. Enrollments continued to decline so that by 1870 the names of only eighteen boys are recorded for the academic year 1869-1870, the final year embraced by the student register.⁶⁴ During the twenty-nine years of the college's suspension, occasional classes in Latin and similar subjects were conducted for special students, sufficient, according to Francis X. Talbot,

⁵⁷ St. Joseph's College, *Catalogue* (1852-53), 3.

⁵⁸ Talbot, *Jesuit Education*, 58; St. Joseph's College, *Catalogue* (1857-58), 5-8.

⁵⁹ Talbot, *Jesuit Education*, 59; St. Joseph's College, *Catalogue* (1857-58), 14.

⁶⁰ St. Joseph's College, Minutes of Directors, January 14, 1856, President's Office, St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia.

⁶¹ St. Joseph's College, Register of Students (1851-1870), President's Office, St. Joseph's College.

⁶² Talbot, *Jesuit Education*, 63.

⁶³ St. Joseph's College, Minutes of Directors, June 6, 1860.

⁶⁴ St. Joseph's College, Register of Students (1851-1870).

"to carry over the continuity of the College as well as to preserve the charter."⁶⁵

The difficulties which forced the abandonment of the college program did not destroy the Jesuit vision of maintaining an institution of higher education in Philadelphia. In fact, their diary records the hope of eventually expanding their offerings through the establishment of "a University upon our present locality, embracing three Departments, the Classical, Commercial & Polytechnic with extensive buildings." To this end they announced the purchase of "a building lot on the S.E. Corn. of 17th & Stiles Streets . . . on the 20th of February 1873," costing the "net sum of Fourteen Thousand Dollars. . . ."⁶⁶

Although the goal of establishing a university in Philadelphia has not as yet (1961) been reached, the obstacles which impeded the institution's progress over the preceding years were evidently removed and announcement was made of the resuming of college classes in 1889.⁶⁷ However, the status of the institution as a college was in question. Though it conferred both graduate and undergraduate degrees after its revitalization, it did not receive recognition as having attained college rank by the College and University Council until 1912.⁶⁸ Even then this recognition was apparently tentative and without legal confirmation; for the annual report of the State Council of Education covering the period from July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927, stated that the application of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, for degree-granting authority was "still pending."⁶⁹ It was not until December 2, 1927, that the council voted "that the right and authority of St. Joseph's College, in the City of Philadelphia, to grant certain degrees in course be continued as follows: Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Master of Arts, Master of Science. April 13, 1928 the right to confer the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy was added." By decree of the Phila-

⁶⁵ Diary of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, September 2, 1889, p. 139, President's Office, St. Joseph's College; Talbot, *Jesuit Education*, 80-81; *USRCE*, 1879, p. 204.

⁶⁶ Diary of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, February 20, 1873, p. 70.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, September 2, 1889, p. 139.

⁶⁸ Compare St. Joseph's College, *Catalogue* (1895-96), 31; *ibid.* (1897-98), 52-53; *ibid.* (1900-01), 76; *ibid.* (1906-07), 78; *ibid.* (1907-08), 77; *ibid.* (1910-11), 50; *ibid.* (1915-16), 58; "Biennial Report of the College and University Council," *PRSPI*, 1912, pp. 624, 636-37.

⁶⁹ The college's original charter of 1852 lacked the provision empowering the institution to confer degrees, and no amendment to the charter was secured at this time rectifying the omission. *PRSPI*, 1926-1928, p. 169.

delphia Court of Common Pleas in 1928, this action of the State Council of Education was rooted in law.⁷⁰

St. Joseph's College (Susquehanna County). At about the same time that the State legislature chartered St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia in 1852, another institution with exactly the same name was being erected at Saint Joseph's, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.⁷¹ Established by the Reverends John Vincent O'Reilly and Henry Fitzsimmons, the institution was chartered in March, 1860, by an act of the General Assembly.⁷²

According to the charter, "a college for the education of persons in the various branches of science, literature and ancient and modern languages, by the name, style and title of St. Joseph's College," was erected at St. Joseph's in the county of Susquehanna. It was to be managed by a board of nine trustees, of which both Fathers O'Reilly and Fitzsimmons were named as members. The corporation was invested with the right "to grant and confirm such degrees in the arts and sciences . . . as are granted in other colleges and universities in the United States. . . ."⁷³

Little is known of the institution save that in 1863 the Reverend Father O'Reilly was president and there were ninety-four students in attendance.⁷⁴ The college was completely destroyed by fire on the night of January 1, 1864. Since the libraries and records of the institution, even to the personal possessions of the students, were consumed in the conflagration,⁷⁵ nothing remains by way of evidence to determine whether the institution ever functioned as a college or ever exercised its degree-granting rights under the charter.

La Salle College. With the formation of a community of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Philadelphia on August 22, 1853,⁷⁶ the basis was laid for the establishment of La Salle College. Engaged in teaching in parochial elementary schools prior to 1862, the brothers

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 146-47; Philadelphia County, Charter Book, CI, 68 (March 16, 1928).

⁷¹ W. C. Tilden, "Susquehanna County," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 525; "St. Joseph's, Susquehanna County," *Scranton Catholic Light*, February 28, 1916, p. 11.

⁷² "History of the Diocese of Scranton," *ibid.*, November 20, 1919, p. 25.

⁷³ Act of March 30, 1860, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1860*, p. 376.

⁷⁴ *Catholic Almanac and Register of the Churches and Clergy of the Diocese of Philadelphia, Diocese of Pittsburgh and Diocese of Erie* (Philadelphia, 1863), 32.

⁷⁵ Tilden, "Susquehanna County," *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 525; "History of the Diocese of Scranton," *Scranton Catholic Light*, November 20, 1919, p. 27.

⁷⁶ La Salle College, Register for Renovation of Vows of the Christian Brothers, La Salle College Library, Philadelphia.

on September 1 of that year opened an academy of three classes, commonly called a "high school," in St. Michael's Parish. It was this academy or high school that furnished the seed from which La Salle College emerged.⁷⁷

The following year (March 20, 1863) the legislature incorporated La Salle College "within the limits of the city and county of Philadelphia, in which are to be taught the elementary branches of education, together with the sciences, and modern and ancient languages. . . ."⁷⁸ Except for the names of the incorporators, the charter is identical with that granted to St. Joseph's College in 1852. Both charters failed to indicate the nature of the religious control; and both acts of incorporation lacked provisions for degree-granting authority.

On August 20, 1867, the Academy of St. Michael's was transferred to Juniper and Filbert Streets and occupied the building that once housed St. Joseph's College.⁷⁹ At the opening of the succeeding session, September 7, 1868, the academy became known as La Salle College.⁸⁰ The incorporators held a meeting, May 20, 1869, and elected Brother Oliver [J. S. Daly] as the first president of La Salle College. On June 28th of the same year the annual commencement exercises were held at the Philadelphia Academy of Music, and seven young men were granted the degree of Bachelor of Science after having completed a year of college work.⁸¹ That the course of studies pursued was below the recognized college curriculum of the day is evidenced by the fact that the study of the Latin classics was not made obligatory in the collegiate department until December, 1870. Following this addition to the college program, two students received the Bachelor of Arts degree at the commencement held in 1871.⁸²

For the remainder of the nineteenth century, the college enjoyed occasional periods of prosperity, and more frequently suffered the vicissitudes occasioned by financial insolvency. However, with the

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; *The Catholic Directory* (London, 1864), 73; Kirlin, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*, 441; *Ten Decades of Education, 1845-1945: The Centenary of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in America* (Baltimore, 1948), 49.

⁷⁸ Act of March 20, 1863, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1863*, p. 174.

⁷⁹ Register for Renovation of Vows, 1; *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Churches and Institutions of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1895), 177.

⁸⁰ Register for Renovation of Vows, 2.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 3-4. Presumably, the course of studies followed by those who received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1871 was similar to that published in the catalogue of 1873-74, pp. 25-26, the oldest extant, and, so far as is known, the only catalogue issued by La Salle College in the nineteenth century.

turn of the new century, the college received what the brothers characterized as a "severe setback."⁸³ According to the rules governing the community of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, adopted in 1705 and reaffirmed in 1717, it was forbidden to members of the order either to read or to speak the Latin language. Those who knew it were directed to act as if they had never known the language.⁸⁴ Despite this prohibition, the American brothers had included Latin in the curriculums of their schools since 1854. Taking note of this fact, the Brother Superior Gabriel-Marie in 1900 forbade "Brothers Directors to maintain or introduce the teaching of Latin into our Institutions, even though this teaching were done by professors strangers to the Institute, and given only to a small number of pupils."⁸⁵ It was not until 1923, after the intervention of Pope Pius XI, that the rule was amended permitting the reintroduction of the classics into the American schools conducted by the brothers.⁸⁶

From the time of its organization as a college until the close of the first decade of the twentieth century, La Salle College had been conferring degrees without benefit of charter authorization or approval of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.⁸⁷ It was not until 1912 that the State College and University Council announced that La Salle College had been "added to the list of institutions recognized by the Council as of college rank."⁸⁸ Unlike its brother institution, St. Joseph's College of Philadelphia (which had also been recognized as of college rank in 1912 by the College and University Council, which had received confirmation of its degree-granting privileges by the State Council of Education in 1927, and which had its charter amended in 1928 adding a specific degree-granting provision),⁸⁹ La Salle College

⁸³ Register of Renovation of Vows, 4 ff., 19.

⁸⁴ *Regles Communes des Frères des Écoles Chrétienues* (Handwritten reproduction of the Rules of 1717 in La Salle College Library), Chapitre 26, p. 52. See also Edward A. Fitzpatrick, *La Salle, Patron of All Teachers* (Milwaukee, 1951), 308-309.

⁸⁵ Brother Gabriel-Marie, *Consequences of the Suppression of the Teaching of Latin*, Circular No. 101 (April 11, 1901), 3, 16, La Salle College Library.

⁸⁶ *Rules of the Brothers of the Christian Schools* (1925), 64, La Salle College Library.

⁸⁷ La Salle College, *Catalogue* (1873-74), 51-52; Register of Renovation of Vows, 2 ff.

⁸⁸ "Biennial Report of the College and University Council," *PRSPI*, 1912, pp. 621, 634-35.

⁸⁹ *Supra*, 221-22.

to the year 1961 had neither amended its charter nor had its practice of awarding degrees questioned by the State Council of Education.⁹⁰

Saint Gregory's College. A second attempt by the Benedictines to establish an institution of higher education was made in May, 1871. The State legislature at that time constituted Paulinus Wenkman, Edward Hipelius, Eugene Phelan, Herman Wolfe, and Michael Hofmeyer and their successors a corporation or body politic with the right of perpetual succession by the name of Saint Gregory's College. According to the charter, "The object and purpose of the said incorporation is the promotion of christian and liberal education and the cultivation of the various branches of science." The management of the college was vested in a board of five trustees, all of whom were to be members of the Benedictine Order in the United States of America. They were empowered "to confer all the degrees in the various departments of learning and science usually conferred by universities and colleges." The college building was to be located in Elk County; the building and lands belonging to it, not exceeding five acres, were to be exempt from taxation.⁹¹

This effort of the Benedictines, however, appeared to be an abortive one. No evidence exists that the college progressed beyond the conceptual stage. County historical sources are silent with respect to the college, and the records of the Benedictines at Latrobe, Pennsylvania, make no mention of it.

Duquesne University. Repeated attempts to erect Catholic institutions of higher education in Pittsburgh proved unsuccessful until the advent of the Holy Ghost Fathers in 1878. On October 1, 1878, the fathers opened an academy at Wylie Avenue and Federal Street with forty students.⁹² By decree of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County (1882), the school was incorporated as The Pittsburgh Catholic College of the Holy Ghost. In the words of the charter,

⁹⁰ The records of the recorder of deeds of Philadelphia County make no mention of a charter or a charter amendment for La Salle College. In an interview held June 9, 1952, the president of the college stated that so far as he knew no application for charter amendment had ever been made. Similarly, the reports of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction subsequent to that of 1912 are silent with respect to the college's granting degrees.

⁹¹ Act of May 3, 1871, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1871*, p. 523.

⁹² Federici, "Higher Education," *Catholic Pittsburgh's One Hundred Years*, 149, 150; *USRCE, 1880*, p. 649; Francis A. Danner, "Short History of Duquesne University" (Unpublished manuscript, 1938, Duquesne University Library, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), 1; Duquesne University, *Duke*, March 5, 1950, p. 1.

"The Purpose of the Corporation is to support and maintain a College for the instruction of youth in all the branches of a thorough moral and secular education including languages, the liberal arts and sciences—and also the preparation and education of youths destined for the Catholic priesthood and to confer the usual scholastic degrees." The institution was to enjoy perpetual succession as a corporation and to be managed by a board of seven directors chosen annually.⁹³

Prior to 1885 the college was primarily a secondary school, for the vast majority of students were enrolled in the commercial department.⁹⁴ At this time (1885) the classical department was strengthened; and four years later the college held its first graduation in arts and sciences with six students of the class of 1889 receiving either the Bachelor of Arts or the Bachelor of Science degrees, the first to be conferred by Duquesne University.⁹⁵ The absence of records for the nineteenth century makes its impossible to determine the nature of the curriculum for which degrees were offered.⁹⁶ Presumably, it differed little from that which obtained in 1901.⁹⁷

At the close of the first decade of the twentieth century the Pittsburgh Catholic College of the Holy Ghost petitioned the State College and University Council and the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County for a charter amendment to elevate the institution to the rank of a university, with the right of granting professional as well as scholastic degrees and with the design of organizing departments of law, medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy. The petition was approved by the council on March 30, 1911, and the court issued its final decree on May 2, 1911, confirming the new status and changing the name of the college to The University of the Holy Ghost.⁹⁸

Seeking a name more descriptive of the character of the institution, the incorporators, but a few weeks after receiving their university charter,

⁹³ Allegheny County, Charter Book, VII, 228-29 (June 17, 1882), Courthouse, Pittsburgh.

⁹⁴ Danner, "Short History of Duquesne University," 3.

⁹⁵ Francis A. Danner, "Side Lights on the Early History of Duquesne University" (Unpublished manuscript, 1938, Duquesne University Library), 2.

⁹⁶ In an interview with the writer, the Reverend Joseph Kletzel, C.S.Sp., dean of the college and university archivist, stated that the earliest existing records of the corporation begin with 1901. A notation in the records of 1901 states that the earlier records were lost.

⁹⁷ Pittsburgh College of the Holy Ghost, *Catalogue* (1901), 12, Duquesne University Library.

⁹⁸ "Biennial Report of the College and University Council of Pennsylvania," *PRSPI*, 1910, p. 602; *ibid.*, 1912, p. 624; Allegheny County, Charter Book, XLVI, 9 (May 2, 1911).

again requested the court to amend their articles of incorporation. They asked that the word "Duquesne" be inserted in the charter because it is derived from Fort Duquesne, which in turn was named after the Catholic governor of the province of Canada. Consequently, the charter was again amended in conformity with this request.⁹⁹

Evidently intent on investing the university with a more secular tone, the managers in 1913 asked the court to delete that portion of section two of the original charter which described the purpose of the institution as "the preparation and education of youths destined for the Catholic priesthood," claiming that students and faculty were admitted without regard to religious denomination and that no theological seminary or missionary work was carried on by the university.¹⁰⁰ This amendment, however, failed to prove financially beneficial to the university; for in 1921 the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania upheld the suit of a taxpayer seeking to enjoin the State Treasurer from paying to Duquesne University of the Holy Ghost \$50,000 appropriated to the institution in 1919 by the State legislature, on the grounds that the university was a denominational institution and under the control of a specific religious order.¹⁰¹ It was not until 1935 that the university obtained a further amendment to its charter, eliminating the words "of the Holy Ghost" and shortening its name to Duquesne University.¹⁰²

University of Scranton. Founded by the Right Reverend William O'Hara, Bishop of Scranton, the University of Scranton began life as the College of Saint Thomas Aquinas.¹⁰³ Although the cornerstone of the college building was laid August 12, 1888, the institution did not open for the reception of students until September 8, 1892.¹⁰⁴ In 1896 the institution was placed under the direction of a community of Xaverian Brothers, who were succeeded the following year by the

⁹⁹ Danner, "Short History of Duquesne University," 5; Allegheny County, Charter Book, XLVI, 164 (May 27, 1911).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, XLVII, 323 (April 19, 1913).

¹⁰¹ *Collins v. Kephart et al.*, 271 Pa. 428 (1921).

¹⁰² Allegheny County, Charter Book, LXVI, 248 (July 10, 1935).

¹⁰³ Brother Philip, "College of St. Thomas Aquinas," *Souvenir of Dual Jubilee* (Scranton, 1922), 133; Frederick L. Hitchcock, *History of Scranton and Its People*, 2 vols. (New York, 1914), I, 308; Edward G. Jacklin, "Induction Address," *Addresses at the Inauguration of J. Eugene Gallery, S.J., Ph.D., LL.D., as President of the University of Scranton* (Scranton, 1948). The first and last publications cited are available in the University of Scranton Library, Scranton, Pennsylvania.

¹⁰⁴ *Scranton Catholic Light*, November 20, 1919, p. 1.

Christian Brothers.¹⁰⁵ It was under the aegis of the latter religious order that the school experienced its greatest growth until it was transferred in June, 1942, to the control of the Society of Jesus.¹⁰⁶

Little is known of the early curriculum of the college, since there are no published documents containing such information prior to 1918. Presumably during the first decade of the twentieth century courses of college grade were introduced, since the institution then began the practice of awarding bachelor's degrees without benefit of charter or other legal sanction.¹⁰⁷ That such degrees were in fact conferred on graduates is evidenced by Lehigh University's admission to graduate study in 1917 of Francis Duke, described in the catalogue as having received the degree of Bachelor of Science from St. Thomas College.¹⁰⁸ However, the earliest existing catalogue of the university (*circa* 1918) states: "The work to which St. Thomas College devotes itself is a two-year college course, a regular high school course of four years, and a business course requiring for completion a period of two years."¹⁰⁹

From its inception in 1892 to the year 1923, the school had been functioning as a private, unincorporated institution. In 1923 a charter was secured from the Court of Common Pleas of Lackawanna County incorporating St. Thomas College for the purpose of "establishing, conducting and maintaining a College for the education of men in classical, English, scientific and commercial branches and in all branches of art, true and applied science, philosophy, and literature."¹¹⁰ At the close of the same year, the State Council of Education recognized the institution as worthy of college rank (December 27, 1923), and an amendment to the charter was secured empowering St. Thomas College to confer degrees in "Art, True and Applied Sciences, Philosophy and Literature."¹¹¹ Fifteen years later, the college, without requesting the approval of the State Council of Education,¹¹² obtained a charter amendment changing its name to the University of Scranton. This

¹⁰⁶ Brother Philip, "College of St. Thomas Aquinas," *Souvenir of Dual Jubilee*, 133-34.

¹⁰⁷ University of Scranton, *Catalogue* (1943-44), 9.

¹⁰⁸ Scranton *Catholic Light*, November 20, 1919, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ Lehigh University, *Catalogue* (1917-18), 171.

¹¹⁰ College of St. Thomas Aquinas, *Catalogue* (undated, c. 1918), 3, University of Scranton Library; Brother Philip, "College of St. Thomas Aquinas," *Souvenir of Dual Jubilee*, 135.

¹¹¹ Lackawanna County, Charter Book, IX, 251 (January 20, 1923), Courthouse, Scranton.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 355 (January 12, 1924).

¹¹³ *PRSP*, 1936-1938, p. 39.

unrecorded amendment was finally approved by the State Council of Education April 10, 1942, and the court issued its final decree April 15, 1942.¹¹³

Following its recognition as a degree-granting institution, the college offered four-year curriculums leading to the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Science degrees.¹¹⁴ At the annual commencement held June 21, 1925, St. Thomas College first exercised its charter-given right of conferring degrees by awarding the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Science degrees on thirty-six graduating students.¹¹⁵

Gannon College. The ravages of the economic depression of the 1930's, which made it more difficult for the young men of Erie, Pennsylvania, to afford a college education away from home, contributed in large measure to the decision of the Catholic Bishop of Erie, John Mark Gannon, to establish Gannon College.¹¹⁶ Founded as Cathedral College, a department of St. Vincent College of Latrobe, Pennsylvania, the institution opened its doors to the reception of students September 18, 1933, offering the first two years of the college course.¹¹⁷ In 1941 the school's curriculum was extended to include all four years of the regular college program, and it became known as the Gannon School of Arts and Science, a department of Villa Maria College (a Catholic college for women, whose charter had been amended in 1930 to include education of men).¹¹⁸

Eight courses of study were offered leading to the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Science degrees.¹¹⁹ Three years after the inauguration of the four-year college programs, the Gannon School of Arts and Science secured the approval of the State Council of Education (November 3, 1944) to become an independent college, and it was chartered by the Court of Common Pleas of Erie County as Gannon College, with the expressed purpose of "establishing, conducting, and maintaining a college for the higher education of men, with authority

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 1940-1942, pp. 14-15; Lackawanna County, Charter Book, XI, 544 (April 15, 1942).

¹¹⁴ St. Thomas College, *Catalogue* (1926-27), 24-29, University of Scranton Library.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 70-71.

¹¹⁶ Gannon College, *The Mansion*, I (June 5, 1945), 1; Richard H. Runser, "History of Gannon College," *Intercollegiate Conference on Government* (undated, c. 1949), 3-4, Gannon College Library, Erie, Pennsylvania.

¹¹⁷ *Mansion*, I (June 5, 1945), 1; Runser, "History of Gannon College," *Intercollegiate Conference on Government*, 4.

¹¹⁸ *Mansion*, I (June 5, 1945), 1; Erie County, Charter Book, X, 408 (June 16, 1930), Courthouse, Erie.

¹¹⁹ Gannon College, *Catalogue* (1941-42), 10-13.

to grant diplomas and to confer degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science and such other degrees as may be approved and authorized . . . by the constituted authorities."¹²⁰ On January 28, 1945, Gannon College held its first commencement and awarded its first degree, the Bachelor of Science degree to one student, the sole survivor of a class of 237 freshmen, who had entered with him four years before; the armed services had forced the removal of the others from their regular program of study.¹²¹

King's College. At the behest of the Most Reverend William J. Hafey, Bishop of the Diocese of Scranton, the Congregation of the Holy Cross at the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, consented to found a college at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, to be known as "King's College in honor of Christ the King."¹²² The Reverend James W. Connerton, former registrar of the University of Notre Dame, was chosen as the first president of the projected college; a building which formerly housed the Bucknell Junior College was obtained; and a drive for funds was instituted.¹²³ Although the institution was yet to draw its first breath of life, the State Council of Education approved its charter (May 3, 1946) . and the Court of Common Pleas of Luzerne County the same month incorporated King's College at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, "For the purpose of establishing, conducting and maintaining a college for the higher education of men, with authority to grant diplomas and to confer the following degrees: (a) Bachelor of Arts (b) Bachelor of Science (c) Such other degrees as may be approved and authorized from time to time by the duly constituted authorities."¹²⁴

The college opened its doors September 10, 1946, with 310 students, all freshmen.¹²⁵ A course of study leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree was announced.¹²⁶ Four years after its inception, King's College conferred the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science on

¹²⁰ *PRSPI, 1944-1946*, p. 8; Erie County, Charter Book, X, 633 (November 13, 1944).

¹²¹ *Mansion*, I. (June 5, 1945), 3.

¹²² Wilkes-Barre *Times-Leader*, January 7, 1946; James W. Connerton to Court of Common Pleas, Luzerne County, February 20, 1946, copy in Dean's Office, King's College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, Wilkes-Barre *Record*, January 24, 1946; King's College, *Catalogue* (1946-47), 5.

¹²⁴ *PRSPI, 1944-1946*, p. 8; Luzerne County, Charter Book, XIV, 158 (May 29, 1946).

¹²⁵ King's College, Minutes of Directors, December 11, 1946, pp. 9-10, Dean's Office, King's College.

¹²⁶ King's College, *Catalogue* (1946-47), 10-11.

the 209 students comprising the first graduating class. Of these, approximately 20 per cent entered graduate schools for their advanced degrees in the United States and Europe.¹²⁷

Alliance College. Unique in the annals of higher education in Pennsylvania, Alliance College is the cultural offspring of a fraternal insurance order, the Polish National Alliance.¹²⁸ Arising out of a resolution of the Alliance in 1903, the school opened its doors for the instruction of students on September 7, 1912.¹²⁹ In 1914 the institution was incorporated under the name of the "Polish National Alliance College," as "an academy for the instruction of youths in all branches of a thorough moral and secular education."¹³⁰ It persisted in this role until 1924, when a junior college program was inaugurated.¹³¹

The increased demand for higher educational opportunities after World War II, influenced the president of the college in 1946 to propose, "in view of the influx of veterans and other students and the possible unwillingness of such students to attend a Junior College with only two years college work, that a four-year senior college program be instituted." This proposal was adopted by the trustees, and President John Kolasa was directed "to prepare a petition to the Court for amendment of the charter regarding studies in the College from two years to four years."¹³² Approval for the change was obtained from the State Council of Education on May 7, 1948, and shortly afterwards the court issued its final decree changing the name of the institution to Alliance College and empowering the school "to confer baccalaureate degrees in Arts and Sciences . . . and such other degrees as are authorized from time to time by the State Council of Education, or its successors."¹³³ In June of the following year, Alliance College graduated its first college class. Two students were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree and four candidates the Bachelor of Science degree.¹³⁴

¹²⁷ Wilkes-Barre *Times-Leader*, June 5, 1950; Wilkes-Barre *Record*, August 29, 1950.

¹²⁸ Alliance College is included among the Catholic colleges because, in the words of its catalogue, "more than 80% of the student body embraces the Roman Catholic faith," and because the courses in religion, as in other Catholic colleges, are required of all Catholic students. Alliance College, *Catalogue* (1951-52), 19, 23.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* (1916-17), 8.

¹³⁰ Crawford County, Charter Book, "D", 155 (November 16, 1914), Courthouse, Meadville.

¹³¹ Alliance College, *Catalogue* (1925-26), 4, 16-24.

¹³² Alliance College, Minutes of Trustees, May 6, 1946, pp. 9 ff., President's Office, Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania.

¹³³ *PRSPI*, 1946-1948, p. 10; Crawford County, Charter Book, "F", 433 (May 18, 1948).

¹³⁴ Meadville *Tribune-Republican*, June 7, 1949.

CHAPTER XII

Other Church Efforts

THE MORAVIANS, the General Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian), and the Jews of Pennsylvania offer excellent examples of religious denominations whose educational aspirations exceeded their means to implement them. All three groups desired an educated ministry. But each was circumscribed in its efforts by limited numbers and a relative lack of financial resources. This was particularly true of the Jews, who succeeded in establishing a permanent, degree-granting institution in the twentieth century only after attempts to do so in the nineteenth century had failed.

I. MORAVIAN

Moravian College and Theological Seminary. Motivated by the prevailing spirit of independence and the desire to be relieved of the oppressive bonds imposed upon them by the mother church in Europe; discontented with the foreign ministers furnished them, who, however scholarly, were frequently incapable of adapting themselves to peculiarly American conditions; and faced with difficulties of an insuperable nature, both financial and physical, which prevented them from sending their youth to be trained in the colleges and theological seminaries of Europe, the adherents of the *Unitas Fratrum* or Moravian church early decided to establish their own institutions for the education of their future teachers and ministers.¹ At the opening of the nineteenth century the elders of the church expressed the hope that "for such boys who have the desire to study and have no opportunity to do so, an arrangement might be made at Nazareth Hall,² whereby they might receive further instruction for several years and be prepared for appointment to service in school work." A few months later this idea was enlarged so that boys who exhibited talent might also

¹ William N. Schwarz, *History of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary* (Bethlehem, 1910), 14 ff.

² The first boys' school of the American province of the church, whose cornerstone was laid in 1755. *Ibid.*, 15.

"be trained as ministers of the town and country congregations with assistants for school work and other activity."³

However, five years were to elapse before these aspirations were given substance. In 1807 a "Plan for the Establishment of an Institution at Nazareth Hall" was formulated, proclaiming as its purpose the training of "teachers for the Boys' School, who may in due time be used in the service of the Lord in the American congregations." The "Plan" placed the proposed institution under the control of the General Helpers' Conference, enunciated principles for its conduct and guidance, and stipulated that instruction should be given in "Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German Composition, Mathematics, General History, Ecclesiastical History, Exegesis, Geography, Drawing." With the formal opening of the school October 2, 1807, at Nazareth Hall, Nazareth, with two students, the basis was laid for the eventual emergence of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary.⁴

Through the years the seminary initiated in 1807 functioned as a theological school rather than as a college. This is confirmed by the resolution of the Provincial Synod of 1855 which stated that "it seems very desirable that the Church should have an institution in which the youths of our congregations can pursue a collegiate course of studies, either with a view to fit themselves for the various avocations of life, or with the ul[t]imate object of entering the ministry. . . ." To this end it was determined to establish "a Moravian College . . . under the auspices of the church. . . ."⁵ Again, the following year, the synod reiterated its intention of creating a college and enlarged its original plans to provide for a board of trustees of ten members, to raise a building fund and an endowment fund, and to organize an educational institution embracing a junior or collegiate department, a second department devoted to the branches of an English education, and a third or senior department comprising the theological classes.⁶

³ Protocoll der Provincial Helfer Conferenz fürs Ganze der Pensylvanischen und umliegenden Gemeinen, June 1, October 30, 1802, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

⁴ Schwarze, *History of the Moravian College*, 39 ff.; Mabel Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania* (Nazareth, Pa., 1953), 76-77.

⁵ *Journal of the Provincial Synod of the United Brethren's Church in the Northern Section of the United States* . . . (Bethlehem, 1855), Minutes of May 15-16, 1855, pp. 94-95, 108-10.

⁶ *Journal of the Provincial Synod of the United Brethren's Church in the Northern Section of the United States* . . . (Bethlehem, 1856), Minutes of October 10, 1856, pp. 87-88.

These plans were not carried out, according to the synod of 1858, "for want of precision in the manner of stating them, and because they were on too extensive a scale."⁷ Consequently, it was resolved "to begin in a small way, but to begin at once"; that a building be purchased in Bethlehem to which "Theological Students now at Ephrata" and the "Preparands now in Nazareth Hall" might be moved; that a \$20,000 endowment fund be created; and that the organization of classes, course of studies and other external and internal details be left to the inspector or principal professor and his assistant professors.⁸

The college was formally opened August 30, 1858, with nine students organized into a junior and senior class, and with a curriculum that made no distinction between the studies of the college and the studies of the theological seminary.⁹ This lack of differentiation persisted until 1868, when the four classes of the regular college program were organized and the first catalogue of the college was published containing a four-year graded curriculum.¹⁰

In the meantime, acting on advice of the Pennsylvania Secretary of the Commonwealth, the church elders petitioned the legislature and obtained in April, 1863, a charter incorporating the Moravian College and Theological Seminary at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.¹¹ The charter acknowledged the *de facto* existence of a theological seminary and a college established in 1858. It placed the control of the institution in the hands of the Provincial Elders' Conference by declaring its members to be the legal trustees of the college and seminary. Further, it empowered the trustees, in conjunction with the faculty, to confer the usual degrees.¹²

In harmony with its newly achieved legal status, the synod resolved to change the title of the head of the college from inspector to president. At the same time it rescinded the rule "confining admission to

⁷ *Journal of the Provincial Synod of the United Brethren's Church in the Northern Section of the United States . . .* (Bethlehem, 1858), Minutes of June 9, 1858, p. 56.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 56-60.

⁹ Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Minutes of Faculty, August 30, 1858, p. 1, Moravian Archives.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, September 8, 1868; Moravian College and Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1868), 10-11.

¹¹ Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference, October 27, 1862, p. 141, Moravian Archives.

¹² Act of April 3, 1863, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1863*, p. 277.

the College to the sons of members of our Church only.”¹³ Equipped with the organizational attributes characteristic of colleges—a student body enrolled in all four years of the college course and a graded liberal arts curriculum—the institution was now prepared to exercise its charter-given privilege of granting degrees. Accordingly, at the first public commencement of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary held July 19, 1870, the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on the six members of the graduating class.¹⁴

2. JEWISH

Maimonides College. To the Reverend Isaac Leeser and the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, Maimonides College, the first Jewish college and theological seminary in America, owed its genesis and short-lived existence.¹⁵ Concerned with the lack of organized facilities for the education of Jewish youth, a void inadequately filled by private tutors, Rabbi Leeser in 1848 proposed the formation of a Hebrew Education Society.¹⁶ Acting swiftly on his suggestion, “a Town Meeting of Israelites” adopted the constitution and by-laws of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, founded June 4, 1848, for the purpose of establishing “such schools, as will enable all Israelites of this city and county, to receive instruction in religion, the Hebrew and the English languages, the usual branches of education, and all such other subjects as the circumstances of the funds and the capacity of the scholars may enable the directors to afford.”¹⁷

A year following the organization of the society and the adoption of its constitution and by-laws, a charter was obtained on April 7, 1849, from the State legislature incorporating the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia. Beyond the basic object and design of the corporation to establish schools within the city and county of Philadelphia

¹³ *Journal of the Triennial Provincial Synod of the Northern District of the American Province of the Moravian Church of the United Brethren . . .* (Bethlehem, 1864), Minutes of June 1, 1864, pp. 63, 87-88.

¹⁴ Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Minutes of Faculty, July 19, 1870.

¹⁵ *Fifty Years' Work of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, 1848-1898* (Philadelphia, 1899), 1 ff.; Henry Samuel Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia. Their History from the Earliest Settlements to the Present Time* (Philadelphia, 1894), 188; Bertram W. Korn, *Eventful Years and Experiences: Studies in Nineteenth Century American Jewish History* (Cincinnati, 1954), 152; Edwin Wolf 2nd and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1957), 372-73.

¹⁶ *Fifty Years' Work*, 5.

¹⁷ *Constitution and By-Laws of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1848), 3.

"in which are to be taught the elementary branches of education, together with the sciences and modern and ancient languages, always in combination with instruction in Hebrew language, literature and religion," section three of the charter contained the following enabling provision:

It shall also be lawful for said corporation to establish, whenever their funds will permit the same to be done, a superior seminary of learning within the limits of this commonwealth, the faculty of which seminary shall have power to furnish to graduates and others, the usual degrees of bachelor of arts, master of arts and doctor of law and divinity, as the same is exercised by other colleges established in this commonwealth.¹⁸

That Leiser was largely responsible for the inclusion of this section because of his conviction that American Jewry required the ministerial services of rabbis trained in this country rather than in foreign lands is evidenced by his plea for its implementation contained in the magazine which he published and edited. "It will be seen," he declared, "that by section *three* we are empowered to establish a college, in the full sense of the word . . . not confining us even to this city." He insisted that "The ministers we . . . require . . . must be those educated in this land, in the midst of us, known to us from their youth for probity of character and an elevated moral standing." In the final analysis, he maintained, whether the charter remained "merely a legislative grant," or became a reality depended upon the liberality of "the Israelites of America" to supply the necessary means.¹⁹

Years, however, were to elapse before Leiser's dream could become reality. The difficulties attendant upon the uniting of the resources of the thin and widely scattered American Jewish communities in support of a college were reflected in the aborted attempts to establish Zion College at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1855 and the Emanu-El Theological Seminary Association in New York City in 1865.²⁰ Apparently undeterred by such obstacles and keenly aware of the need for such an institution, the Board of School Directors of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, through its chairman, I. Binswanger, asked (1864): ". . . shall we, the members of the Hebrew Education Society, longer permit this want in our city, nay, in our whole country, to exist, of having no institution, no house of learning, where our young men can be properly educated for the elevated position of

¹⁸ Act of April 7, 1849, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1849*, p. 484.

¹⁹ *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, VII (May, 1849), 102.

²⁰ Korn, *Eventful Years*, 157-61.

teachers and ministers?" Binswanger went on to expound the virtues of Philadelphia as ideally and centrally situated to establish a seminary to serve the Jews of the nation and urged the calling of a meeting "of all the Israelites of the city" to raise funds for this purpose.²¹ Such a meeting was held November 6, 1864, and a committee was formed (consisting of the president and two members of each of the Jewish congregations of the city) and charged with the task of "canvassing their respective congregations in the collection of funds for the foundation of the College."²²

By the close of the year, upwards of \$2,000 had been collected for the permanent fund, and several hundred dollars were pledged as annual subscriptions.²³ Providing adequate finances, however, was not the only problem which faced the institution's progenitors. Prior to the college's birth, and during the few years of its uncertain existence, considerable opposition was generated against the "Orthodox" founders by those who embraced "Reformed" Judaism. It was argued that the seminary had small chance of survival since Jewish youth of native birth were not interested in the rabbinate as a career.²⁴ Further, the college's opponents claimed that the barrier between Judaism and Christianity was already great enough without the creation of an institution that would serve to increase it.²⁵

However, a sufficient measure of unity was forged to induce the Executive Committee of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, an organization composed of representatives of the nation's Jewish congregations, to join in August, 1866, with the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia in promoting the project.²⁶ A board of seven trustees, consisting of A. Hart, Moses A. Dropsie, Isidore Binswanger, and Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia; and Alexander S. Saroni, Henry Josephi, and Myer S. Isaacs of New York, was chosen June 13, 1867; and an official announcement was issued to the press (July 1, 1867) stating that Maimonides College would commence its first session "on the fourth Monday of October 5628 (1867)."²⁸

²¹ *Annual Report of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1864), 5-6.

²² Circular letter, J. Solis Cohen and Mayer Sulzberger to members of the committee, 1864, Dropsie College Library, Philadelphia.

²³ *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, XXII (January, 1865), 479.

²⁴ Isaac Leiser, "A Rabbinical College," *ibid.*, XXIII (September, 1865), 258-66.

²⁵ S. W. Weiss, "Maimonides College," *ibid.*, XXVI (April, 1868), 31-33.

²⁶ Korn, *Eventful Years*, 202-205.

²⁷ *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, XXV (July, 1867), 213-14.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XXV (August, 1867), 229.

According to the press release, the faculty of the college, "so far as appointed," consisted of the Reverend Isaac Leiser, professor of homiletics, belles lettres and comparative theology; the Reverend S. Morais, professor of the Bible and biblical literature; the Reverend Dr. M. Jastrow, professor of Talmud, Hebrew philosophy and Jewish history and literature; the Reverend Dr. Bettelheim, professor of Mishnah with commentaries, Schulchan 'Aruch and Yad ha-Chazakah; the Reverend L. Bittenwieser, professor of the Hebrew and Chaldaic languages and of the Talmud. "The vacant professorships will be filled before the opening of the College."²⁹ These unfilled chairs, as listed in the "Rules and Regulations for the Government of Maimonides College" adopted in 1868, consisted of "A Professorship of Greek and Latin, A Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature, A Professorship of Mathematics, A Professorship of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, [and] A Professorship of German and French Languages."³⁰

Candidates for admission to the freshman class had to be at least fourteen years of age and had to undergo an examination to determine their qualifications in the following branches: "LATIN—Caesar, Virgil, Sallust, Odes of Horace; ENGLISH—The elements of English grammar and of modern Geography; HEBREW—The translation of the historical portions of the Bible with facility; ARITHMETIC, including fractions and extraction of roots."³¹ Once admitted, they were given the option of pursuing "the usual collegiate course . . . in addition to the Hebrew course" or "of pursuing simply the Hebrew course."³² The full course was to embrace a period of five years, "at the expiration of which the graduates who shall pass a satisfactory examination and be otherwise qualified, will receive the usual degrees. Candidates for the ministry, having the proper theological knowledge, will receive the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity."³³

On October 28, 1867, Maimonides College was formally opened with four of the eight students approved for matriculation by the admissions committee. Two of these withdrew after two weeks, and the remaining two were joined by three new applicants who registered

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 228-29. See also Maimonides College, Minutes of Trustees, June 25, 1867, pp. 2-3, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati 20, Ohio.

³⁰ *Charter & By-Laws of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia. Together with Rules and Regulations for the Government of Maimonides College* (Philadelphia, 1868), 12.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

³² *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, XXV (August, 1867), 229.

³³ *Ibid.*; Maimonides College, Minutes of Trustees, June 25, 1867, p. 2.

during the period from October, 1867, to February, 1868.³⁴ These five, consequently, constituted the student body of the college during the first year of its existence. Unfortunately, decline rather than growth marked the course of the institution during its second year; for, with the resumption of classes in the autumn of 1868, only three students returned to continue their studies at the college. Although an occasional student entered to replace one of the original three—the last student admitted to the college entered in October, 1870—the institution ended its days without experiencing an increment to its meager enrollment. When two of its three students left in February, 1873, Maimonides College ceased to exist for want of a student body.³⁵

So far as can be determined from existing records, Maimonides College never held a formal graduation or conferred a degree or diploma on any of its students. This is corroborated by the reports of the United States Commissioner of Education. The statistics contained in these reports, dealing among other things with the degrees conferred by colleges and universities in the United States, are devoid of data from Maimonides College for the period under consideration.³⁶

The evidence would indicate that one of the reasons for the failure of Maimonides College was its inability to attract and to hold students. In addition to this, Bertram W. Korn cites the lack of leadership after the death on February 1, 1868, of its chief initiator and first provost, Isaac Leeser;³⁷ the impotence of the two organizations that assumed responsibility for its care (the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia and the Board of Delegates of American Israelites) either to collect funds for its support or to stimulate activity in its behalf; the antagonism of the Reformed Jews, whose members were being augmented by recent German immigrants; and the insularity of American Jewry, which precluded aid from other communities for what they considered to be a local project.³⁸

³⁴ Weiss, "Maimonides College," *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, XXVI (April, 1868), 31; *Fifty Years' Work*, 56; Maimonides College, Minutes of Trustees, October 26, 1867, p. 6; February 9, 1868, p. 10.

³⁵ Philadelphia *Jewish Record*, September 8, 1876, p. 4; Maimonides College, Minutes of Trustees, December 18, 1870, p. 42; December 14, 1873, p. 53.

³⁶ *USRCE*, 1870, pp. 514-15; *ibid.*, 1872, p. 791; *ibid.*, 1873, pp. 670-71; *ibid.*, 1874, p. 702; *ibid.*, 1875, p. 748. See also Korn, *Eventful Years*, 177.

³⁷ Maimonides College, Minutes of Trustees, February 9, 1868, p. 12.

³⁸ Korn, *Eventful Years*, 189-94. Dropsie College, the second Pennsylvania college to be established under Jewish auspices, will be considered in the chapter devoted to graduate education, because, from its inception, it has been concerned exclusively with graduate study. *Infra*, 656-660.

3. THE GENERAL CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM

Academy of the New Church. Based upon the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg and differing from them only in intensity, in that "we are more thorough and perfect in our faith and trust,"³⁹ the General Church of the New Jerusalem was ultimately grounded upon two fundamental principles:

The first of these principles was the practical acknowledgement of the Lord Jesus Christ in His Second Coming: that He is present with His Church in and by the Revelation of Divine Truth which has been given in the Theological Writings of His Servant Emanuel Swedenborg, the rational yet inspired unfolding of the internal sense of the Word and Heavenly Doctrine of the New Jerusalem. This acknowledgment involved the recognition of the Divine and therefore infallible Authority of these Writings, as being the voice and Word of God Himself, and not of a mere man. And the second of the two fundamental principles was the recognition of the complete Distinctiveness of the New Church, the necessity of its separation from the Old Church in all things, internal and external.⁴⁰

To effect a legal and permanent form of organization, adherents of these tenets determined to petition the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia for a charter.⁴¹ On November 3, 1877, the court incorporated the Academy of the New Church "for the purpose of propagating the Heavenly Doctrines of the New Jerusalem, and Establishing the New Church signified in the Apocalypse by the New Jerusalem, promoting Education in all of its various forms, Educating Young Men for the Ministry, publishing Books, Pamphlets and other printed matter, and establishing a Library."⁴² Since the charter endowed the corporation with perpetual existence, but contained no provision for granting degrees, an amendment was obtained (1879) empowering the incorporators to "Use a Common Seal, confer degrees and grant Diplomas as other Colleges and Universities."⁴³

³⁹ Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph*, October 19, 1877, p. 1.

⁴⁰ C. T. Odhner, "Origin of the Movement for New Church Education," *Journal of Education of the Academy of the New Church* (1901), 57. A copy of this publication may be found in the archives section of the Academy of the New Church Library, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania.

⁴¹ Edward S. Campbell, attorney, to the Reverend J. P. Stuart, June 13, 1877, archives section, Academy of the New Church Library.

⁴² Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 3, p. 528 (November 3, 1877), City Hall, Philadelphia.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, No. 4, p. 305 (January 18, 1879).

Even prior to the incorporation of the academy, the Reverend L. H. Tafel had instituted private instruction for prospective theological candidates in the parlor and study of his home. There were suggestions that he make use of a room in the unoccupied church building on Cherry Street in Philadelphia, but Mr. Tafel pointed out that rental would have to be paid for use of the room during the whole summer, while classes would be held only through June. He therefore urged postponement of this move until September.⁴⁴ Apparently in compliance with this suggestion, the academy awaited the coming of autumn before opening its "College and Divinity School" in the church building on Cherry Street, September 3, 1877, with eight students in the two departments and with a faculty of one resident and two visiting theological professors.⁴⁵

A three-year course of instruction was adopted for the "Collegiate Department," leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree and open only to those who had "previously been baptized into the New Church, or who [are] prepared to receive such Baptism immediately upon entering the Schools."⁴⁶ Although two years after the opening of the college, two students were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree (May 15, 1879),⁴⁷ the collegiate status of the curriculum was in question. In 1901 the principal of the college reported that there were only two college classes, the first and second years, each of which contained only two students.⁴⁸ By 1909 the college catalogue made no mention of the conferring of degrees but offered instead a diploma to "Those who have satisfactorily completed the Four years' course in the College, or Seminary, or the Two years' course in the Normal School. . . ."⁴⁹ In 1911 the "Boy's College" was definitely characterized as a secondary school, which offered "a year of advanced work prerequisite to the Theological course, and the Normal Department. . . ."⁵⁰

Despite the periodic attempts of the faculty, beginning in 1915, to institute curriculums leading to the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor

⁴⁴ L. H. Tafel to Reverend William H. Benade, April 20, 1877, archives section, Academy of the New Church Library.

⁴⁵ Odhner, "Origin of the Movement for New Church Education," *Journal of Education of the Academy of the New Church* (1901), 61. The academy was moved to Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, in 1897. *New Church Life*, XVII (November, 1897), 175.

⁴⁶ *Journal of Education of the Academy of the New Church* (1901), 41; Academy of the New Church, *Catalogue* (1878), 4-6.

⁴⁷ *Journal of Education of the Academy of the New Church* (1901), 73-74.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* (1908-09), 50.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* (1910-11), 15, 39.

of Science degrees, and the subsequent actual conferring of such degrees,⁵¹ the college did not meet the accreditation standards of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Consequently, on the recommendation of the faculty, the board of directors of the Academy of the New Church at a meeting held January 22, 1952, unanimously resolved "that until such time as the necessary courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts shall be offered, the granting of said degree shall be suspended at the end of the current school year, and the degrees of Bachelor of New Church Philosophy and Bachelor of New Church Education shall be granted in its stead." It was understood that the academy reserved the right to restore the degree of Bachelor of Arts whenever it might be prepared to meet the recognized requirements of that degree.⁵²

⁵¹ Academy of the New Church, Minutes of Faculty, February 24, 1915, archives section of Academy of the New Church Library; *Journal of Education of the Academy of the New Church* (July, 1922), 10.

⁵² George de Charmes, "New Degrees to Be Granted by the Academy," *New Church Life*, LXXII (March, 1952), 135-36.

PART II

*The Trend Towards Secularization
of Higher Education*

CHAPTER XIII

Life in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

1. THE GROWTH OF THE ECONOMY

Agriculture, the dominant factor in the economy during the provincial period, maintained its ascendant position during the early life of the Commonwealth. From 1725 to 1840 Pennsylvania outstripped the other colonies and states in the growing of food.¹ Philadelphia, by virtue of its strategic position as the hub of the wheat area, became by 1765 the most important center of the grain trade. Philadelphia in 1765 shipped out 367,522 bushels of wheat and 18,714 tons of flour and bread. Flour exports from Philadelphia immediately preceding the Revolution averaged about 268,000 barrels a year. They had grown by 1792 to 420,000 barrels.²

As late as 1820 the number of those engaged in agriculture in the State exceeded the number of those employed in all other occupations combined in every county except Philadelphia. From the point of view of the number of men employed, Washington, Chester, Lancaster, Northampton, York, and Berks were the greatest agricultural counties in that year.³ Radiating out from Philadelphia, and particularly in Washington and Greene counties, sheep raising for wool had been elevated by 1820 to a dominant position in the economy.⁴ Lancaster County attempted to concentrate on tobacco and hemp as the crops promising the most profitable returns. But, in general, wheat, rye, corn, barley, oats, mutton, pork, and beef were the usual products of almost every farm.⁵

Despite James M. Swank's insistence (1905) that "Agriculture, the leading industry of our country, is also the leading industry in Penn-

¹Stevenson W. Fletcher, "The Expansion of the Agricultural Frontier," *Pennsylvania History*, XVIII (1951), 119.

²Henry F. James, *The Agricultural Industry of Southeastern Pennsylvania: A Study in Economic Geography* (Philadelphia, 1928), 61-62; Proud, *History*, II, 269.

³Data derived from United States, *Census for 1820* [Fourth Census] (Washington, 1821).

⁴Philip S. Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics, 1817-1832: A Game Without Rules* (Philadelphia, 1940), 18; Gordon, *Gazetteer*, 470; *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXIX (October 8, 1825), 88.

⁵Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 19.

sylvania," economists are agreed that agriculture was forced to relinquish its leadership role in the economy after 1840.⁶ The advancement of the western frontier, which Brissot de Warville had already noted in 1792,⁷ resulted in the establishment of large-scale farming against which the smaller farms of the East found it difficult to compete. Improved transportation facilities and the development of agricultural machinery gave the larger western establishments advantages in the market place that the East, with its more costly production, was unable to overcome.⁸ Of even greater significance in relegating agriculture to a subordinate role in the economy was Pennsylvania's rapid industrialization.

Even prior to the Revolution, complete pessimism as to the prospects of American manufactures was almost impossible because of the widespread enthusiasm for industrial improvement which this country shared with England in the eighteenth century.⁹ Benjamin Franklin and the American Philosophical Society were giving articulate and concrete expression to this enthusiasm as early as the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Philadelphia, the leader in the movement, organized at least one public enterprise, the United Company of Philadelphia, which functioned between 1775 and 1778. Although the company failed, it made a significant contribution to industrial history.¹¹

With the beginning of the Revolution, manufacturing necessarily took on larger proportions, and during the early years of nationhood it

⁶ James M. Swank, *Progressive Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1908), 182-83; Fletcher, "The Expansion of the Agricultural Frontier," *Pennsylvania History*, XVIII (1951), 119; James, *Agricultural Industry*, 65; J. Cutler Andrews, "A Century of Urbanization in Pennsylvania, 1840-1940," *Pennsylvania History*, X (1943), 11. United States, *A Century of Population Growth . . . 1790-1900* (Washington, 1909), 26, states: "In 1900 the proportion of those engaged in agriculture was only about one-third of all persons gainfully employed."

⁷ J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America. Performed in 1788* (New York, 1792), 259-64.

⁸ James, *Agricultural Industry*, 65.

⁹ Samuel Rezneck, "The Rise and Early Development of Industrial Consciousness in the United States, 1760-1830," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, IV (August, 1932), 786.

¹⁰ Benjamin Franklin, "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge Among the British Plantations in America," Smyth (ed.), *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, II, 228-32.

¹¹ Rezneck, "The Rise . . . of Industrial Consciousness . . .," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, IV (August, 1932), 787; *American Museum, or Universal Magazine*, V (June, 1789), 581-84; J. L. Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1861), I, 385.

stimulated an awakening industrial consciousness and a demand for protection against foreign competition.¹² The Pennsylvania legislature clearly formulated the position of the State as a whole with respect to the nurturing of domestic manufactures in the preamble to the State import law of 1785. The legislature noted that, despite the interruption of the "importation of European goods" during the late war with Great Britain, Pennsylvania industry had grown to such a "considerable extent and perfection" that "the artizans and mechanics of this state were able to supply in the hours of need . . . large quantities of weapons . . . ammunition and clothing, without which the war could not have been carried on. . . ." Consequently, the legislature deemed it eminently desirable and just to protect native manufactures by the imposition of "moderate duties" on certain imported fabrics and manufactures, though they conceded that European products "may be afforded at cheaper rates than they can be made here. . . ."¹³

Resolutions favoring the use of domestic goods were adopted at a meeting held in 1787 at Germantown, Pennsylvania. Public office-holders were requested to pledge themselves to wear only clothes of American manufacture in the performance of the duties of their office.¹⁴ Advantage was taken of the opportunity offered by the Federal Procession, held at Philadelphia in 1788 to celebrate the ratification of the Constitution, to parade the promise of the new industrial methods. The entire Hewson family, the parents and four children, were carried on a gigantic float drawn by ten horses and forecast the coming age of mechanization by demonstrating work on a variety of machines, from carding to printing.¹⁵

In 1790 Philadelphia was the industrial center of the nation with 2,200 out of its 8,600 adult males engaged in manufactures.¹⁶ The counties of Lancaster, York, and Berks also had developed manufac-

¹² G. D. Luetscher, "Industries of Pennsylvania After the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, with Special Reference to Lancaster and York Counties," *German American Annals*, I (March, 1903), 136-37; Malcolm R. Eiselen, *The Rise of Pennsylvania Protectionism* (Philadelphia, 1932), 11-14.

¹³ Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, XII, 99 (Act of September 20, 1785).

¹⁴ *American Museum, or Repository*, II (August, 1787), 166-67; III (January, 1788), 89.

¹⁵ William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States, 1639-1810*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1893), I, 110.

¹⁶ Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1794), 228.

tures which compared favorably with any in the country.¹⁷ According to an enumeration by Tench Coxe (about 1787) the products of the State included:

meal of all kinds, ships and boats, malt liquors, distilled spirits, potash, gun powder, cordage, loaf-sugar, pasteboard, cards and paper of every kind, books in various languages, snuff, tobacco, starch, cannon, musquets, anchors, nails and very many other articles of iron, bricks, tiles, potters ware, millstones and other stone work, cabinet work, trunks and windsor chairs, carriages and harness of all kinds, corn-fans, ploughs, and many other implements of husbandry, saddlery and whips, shoes and boots, leather of various kinds, hosiery, hats and gloves, wearing apparel, coarse linens and woollens, and some cotton goods, linseed and fish oil, wares of gold, silver, tin, pewter, lead, brass, and copper, clocks and watches, wool and cotton cards, printing types, glass and stone ware, candles, soap.¹⁸

As the new century came into being, Pennsylvania continued to maintain its position of industrial supremacy. Though years of unsettled conditions followed in the wake of the War of Independence, the State's standing in this respect remained unimpaired. No other state could match its industries in number and variety.¹⁹ Mercantile capitalism by 1815 had already passed its peak in the United States, and specialization had already gotten under way which would eventually cause the dividing up of the many functions earlier performed by the merchants: "exporters would ship abroad by common carriers rather than in their own vessels, banking and insurance functions would be more and more taken over by corporations organized for those purposes, and manufacturing would be carried on by industrialists who, concentrating on fabricating or processing, would leave the problems of transporting, financing, and marketing to others."²⁰

Virtually every section of the State contributed to the process of industrial expansion. As early as 1786 the *Pittsburgh Gazette* proclaimed, with prophetic insight, that "This town must in future time,

¹⁷ *American Museum, or Universal Magazine*, XI (May, 1792), 189.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XI (February, 1792), 46.

¹⁹ Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860*, 3 vols. (New York, 1929), I, 215 ff.; Tench Coxe, *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States for the Year 1810* (Philadelphia, 1814), 7-8; John Bristed, *Resources of the United States of America* (New York, 1818), 64; Bishop, *American Manufactures*, II, 172-73.

²⁰ George R. Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York, 1951), 10-11.

be a place of great manufactory. Indeed the greatest on the continent, or perhaps in the world.”²¹ Berks, Chester, and Lancaster counties in the east and Fayette, Mifflin, Huntingdon, and Centre counties in the central and western portions of the State became noted for the mining and manufacturing of iron products.²² The textile industry, though concentrated in Philadelphia during the first half of the nineteenth century, made considerable progress in Pittsburgh after the War of 1812.²³ As the centers of industrial concentration at this time, it was logical that the manufacture of steam engines should have been undertaken in these two cities. In 1843 Charles Trego noted that the reputation of these machines had extended beyond the boundaries of the United States and that “the traveller in Russia, Austria, and even in England . . . finds the word *Philadelphia* engraved upon the side [of] the locomotive engine which has drawn him with extraordinary velocity and safety over the rail roads of those distant countries.”²⁴ Though numerous other industries prospered and grew in the first half of the nineteenth century, it will suffice to note that the glass and particularly the coal industry achieved positions of major importance in the economy of the country.²⁵

This remarkable industrial expansion continued with but momentary interruptions throughout the nineteenth century. When the twentieth century dawned, Pennsylvania had clearly established its industrial pre-eminence in the nation. It was the leader of all the states in coal mining, coke manufacture, and iron and steel produced. The State was second only to New Jersey in the manufacture of silk products. In 1890 Pennsylvania ranked first in the total output of woolen and worsted goods. The value of its leather products in 1900 was \$55,615,-

²¹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, August 26, 1786.

²² Luetscher, “Industries of Pennsylvania . . .,” *German American Annals*, I (March, 1903), 138 ff.; John B. Pearce, *A Concise History of the Iron Manufacture of the American Colonies up to the Revolution, and of Pennsylvania Until the Present Time* (Philadelphia, 1876), 151; James M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages, and Particularly in the United States from Colonial Times to 1891* (Philadelphia, 1892), 191-203; Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harrisburg, 1938), 182-83, 187-92.

²³ Edwin T. Freedley, *Philadelphia and Its Manufactures* (Philadelphia, 1858), 233; William A. Sullivan, *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania, 1800-1840* (Harrisburg, 1955), 18-23.

²⁴ Charles B. Trego, *A Geography of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1843), 325.

²⁵ See Howard N. Eavenson, *First Century and a Quarter of American Coal Industry* (Pittsburgh, 1942), *passim*; Hazard's *United States Commercial and Statistical Register*, III (December, 1840), 375; Isaac Harris, *Business Directory of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1841), 117.

009, as compared with \$204,038,127, the value of the country's entire output. At the turn of the century it led every other state in the manufacture of glass, and it was exceeded only by New York in the manufacture of chemicals. By the census of 1900 it ranked fourth among the states in the total value of its paper production. Up until 1895 it produced more oil than any other state. In 1905 it had 46 per cent of the total value of the nation's natural gas production. At the same time it led all the states in the production of portland cement. It was also first in the manufacture of brick and tiles. Pennsylvania was the first state to establish a plant exclusively for the manufacture of locomotives, and the Baldwin Locomotive Works became the largest in the world. It built more railroad cars than any other state, and it was a pioneer in the building of iron and steel ships.²⁶

This phenomenal growth would not have been possible had it not been accompanied by revolutionary changes in the modes of transportation. Colonial Americans traveled by boat or horse. Many persons owned neither carriages nor wagons; consequently, much of the population had no need for wagon roads.²⁷ The few roads that existed were well-nigh impassable. John Fanning Watson reported an eyewitness account (c. 1750) of the difficulties teamsters encountered on what was comparatively a good highway, the Old York Road: "It was frequent to see there [*sic*] horses struggling in mire to their knees." At times the drivers "set up a stake in the middle of the road to warn off wagons from the quicksand pits. Sometimes they took down fences, and made new roads through the fields."²⁸

Following the War of Independence it became increasingly apparent that the trans-Allegheny settlements would languish for want of adequate transportation and communication facilities with the eastern section of the State. General Washington warned in 1784 not only of a loss of trade to Philadelphia but also of the possibility of a political schism developing between the eastern and western sections of the State unless a system of internal improvements was effected.²⁹

Stimulated by a coterie of leading citizens of Philadelphia, who in 1789 formed a "Society for Promoting the Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation," the legislature incorporated (April 10, 1791) the

²⁶ Swank, *Progressive Pennsylvania*, 174-82.

²⁷ United States, *A Century of Population Growth*, 21.

²⁸ Watson, *Annals*, I, 257.

²⁹ J. Lee Hartman, "Pennsylvania's Grand Plan of Post-Revolutionary Internal Improvement," *PMHB*, LXV (1941), 445.

Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road Company.³⁰ The Lancaster Turnpike, completed in 1794, by its excellence and profits hastened the building of toll roads, so that by 1815 reasonably good roads connected the chief commercial centers of eastern Pennsylvania.³¹ After 1815 turnpikes were extended westward. About 1,800 miles of turnpike had been constructed by 1821, and the high point of mileage in the State came in 1832, with about 2,400 miles of toll road. Much of this improvement was made possible by the State's liberality. Of approximately \$6,000,000 which had been invested in turnpike companies in Pennsylvania by 1822, about two-thirds had come from individuals and about one-third from the State treasury.³¹

Transportation by toll road, however, was both costly to the shipper and financially unrewarding to the turnpike company. Before waterways were dug, the freight cost per ton from Pottsville to Philadelphia, a distance of approximately ninety miles, was as high as \$28.00. By canal and slack water the charges dropped to a little over three dollars, or to about one-ninth the original cost. With the building of the Erie Canal, Philadelphia merchants, fearing the loss of their trade with the West, began to agitate for a competing waterway to Pittsburgh. Sweeping aside all opposition, Pennsylvania began her intensive canal building program in 1826. Extending the Union Canal, which already connected Philadelphia with the Susquehanna River, the Main Line Canal was constructed and opened over its entire length to Pittsburgh in 1834.³²

Once having embarked on a canal-building program with State funds, the Commonwealth proceeded to spend money lavishly on a whole system of artificial waterways. Writing in 1831, Mathew Carey declared: ". . . every person who has at heart the honour of Pennsylvania must feel proud, that she rises to a height which has never been equalled in any part of the world; as no nation, ancient or modern, has ever expended so much money, on such vast useful improvements *in the same space of time*."³³ Pennsylvania, in her effort to compete with New York, spent more money on new canals than any other state.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 446; Charles E. Sohl, "Early Transportation in the Philadelphia Area," Old York Road Historical Society, *Bulletin*, XI (November, 1947), 7.

³¹ Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 17-18, 23; *Hazard's Register*, II, (November 22, 1828), 292.

³² Sohl, "Early Transportation . . .," Old York Road Historical Society, *Bulletin*, XI (November, 1947), 9; Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 27-28, 43-44.

³³ Mathew Carey, *Brief View of the System of Internal Improvement of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1831), 28.

In 1860 Henry Poor estimated the total expenditure on public works to be \$65,800,000.³⁴

Though the turnpikes and canals contributed considerably to the promotion of commerce and industry, they could by no means compete with the more efficient and less expensive means of transportation, the railroad. Pennsylvania soon became an outstanding leader in the construction of railroads. Beginning with many short feeder lines leading from coal mines to nearby canals and rivers, longer roads were built leading directly from large centers, particularly Philadelphia, to and through the larger coal fields. In 1833 the Commonwealth financed the construction of a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia as an alternate to the canal route up the Schuylkill to Reading and then to Myerstown and down the Swatara. This combination of railroad and canal was commonly called the Main Line, a name which has persisted to the present day. The following year the completion of the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad provided a direct route between Philadelphia and New York harbor. In 1839 an important coal railroad, the Philadelphia and Reading, was in complete operation between the two cities for which it was named. In a little more than ten years the railroad industry "had grown from an infant to a giant." Thus by 1860, a railroad trip from Philadelphia to Quebec required about 40 per cent of the expenditure and less than one-third the time that the same trip did in 1816, using a combination of steamboat and stage.³⁵

Other factors contributed to Pennsylvania's pre-eminence as the industrial leader of the country. Philadelphia admitted no equal as the financial center of America up to the 1840's. Here were found the Bank of North America, the first and then the second Bank of the United States, the Bank of Pennsylvania, and Stephen Girard's banking house. After the passage of the general bank act of 1814, thirty-seven new banks were established, which stimulated industrial expansion and credit, and began a career of bad practices that soon had Pennsylvania business in a turmoil.³⁶

³⁴ Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 45; Henry V. Poor, *History of the Railroads and Canals of the United States* (New York, 1860), 558.

³⁵ Sohl, "Early Transportation . . ." Old York Road Historical Society, *Bulletin*, XI (November, 1947), 19; Swank, *Progressive Pennsylvania*, 152-53; Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 78-79, 141.

³⁶ Wayland F. Dunaway, *A History of Pennsylvania* (New York, 1950), 604; Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 22.

Large-scale corporations were being formed as devices for carrying on business which would gradually reduce the areas in which uninhibited competition could flourish. Prior to 1815, only five charters were issued to Pennsylvania manufacturing corporations; eighty-one establishments were incorporated between the years 1815-1850, and ninety-three in the single decade 1851-1860.³⁷ Following the Civil War, industry generally traversed the path blazed by America's first cartel, the Anthracite Association of Pennsylvania. As business grew bigger, corporations became more powerful and more demanding. Though attempts have been made to turn the clock back by making competition compulsory through the establishment of agencies like the Interstate Commerce Commission, America still seeks solutions for curbing the power of huge industrial combinations.³⁸

Pennsylvania's financial and industrial progress, though tremendous, did not describe a continuous, ascending continuum. Serious dislocations periodically halted the onward march of industry. The Panic of 1819 so disturbed the equilibrium of the economy, particularly in Philadelphia, that Mathew Carey was constrained to write: "that with advantages equal to any that Heaven has ever bestowed on any nation, we exhibit a state of things at which our enemies must rejoice—and our friends put on sackcloth and ashes."³⁹ *Niles' Weekly Register* described the almost untenable situation under which artisans labored: "Hatters, shoe-makers, and taylor, and even blacksmiths, whose work seemed to be indispensable, have lost, in general, much of their former businesses—from a fourth to one half."⁴⁰

Following the classical pattern of recession, depression, recovery, and prosperity, the economy periodically suffered the ravages of the first two as the nineteenth century advanced. In 1837 a banking and commercial crisis temporarily halted the expansionist trend of American industry, and it was succeeded by an even more severe depression in 1839. Unemployment and general distress, the inevitable products of economic crises, accompanied the Panic of 1857, and the succeeding

³⁷ Thomas C. Cochran, "Business Organization and the Development of an Industrial Discipline," Harold F. Williamson (ed.), *The Growth of the American Economy* (New York, 1944), 306-10; William Miller, "A Note on the History of Business Corporations in Pennsylvania, 1800-1860," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, LV (November, 1940), 156-58.

³⁸ Marvin W. Schlegel, "America's First Cartel," *Pennsylvania History*, XIII (1946), 1-16.

³⁹ *Addresses of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of the National Industry* (Philadelphia, 1819), v.

⁴⁰ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XVIII (April 15, 1820), 115.

dislocations of 1873 and 1893.⁴¹ Yet, so rich were the State's resources and so strongly entrenched were its industries that panics, crises, and periodic dislocations could momentarily interrupt but scarcely halt the ascending progress of the economy.

2. SOCIAL MOBILITY AND STRATIFICATION

Keeping pace with the growth of industrialization and supplying the human base upon which it depended for continued life and expansion, the population of Pennsylvania increased from 433,611 in 1790 to 6,302,115 in 1900.⁴² The bulk of the population in 1800 resided in twelve counties east of the Allegheny mountain barrier. Even in 1830, this dozen of the then existing fifty-one counties contained half the State's inhabitants. Such concentration of numbers could scarcely fail to place its mark upon virtually every part of that region's life. Philip S. Klein states: "Socially it fostered rapid urbanization with its consequent division of labor and development of classes based upon wealth and occupation . . . economically it brought about that confluence of wealth which is the starting point for commercial and industrial enterprise; politically it provided the raw material for the building of efficient party machinery. . . ."⁴³

Perhaps the most significant phenomenon arising out of the rapid growth of the population was the emergence of the city. In 1790 only one Pennsylvania city, Philadelphia, had a population in excess of 8,000. Pitsburgh, for example, was a small frontier settlement with a population estimated in 1796 at from eight hundred to fourteen hundred people.⁴⁴ By 1900 Allegheny, Pitsburgh, Reading, Harrisburg, Erie, Scranton, and Wilkes-Barre, as well as Philadelphia, had far surpassed the 50,000 mark.⁴⁵ In 1820, only about one-sixth of Pennsylvania's slightly more than a million inhabitants lived in communities that could be considered urban. However, the subsequent national trend towards urbanization was especially marked in Pennsylvania. Only 17.9 per cent of the residents of the State in 1840

⁴¹ Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 344 ff.; Austin E. Hutcheson, "Philadelphia and the Panic of 1857," *Pennsylvania History*, III (1936), 193.

⁴² United States, *A Century of Population Growth*, 57.

⁴³ Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 3-4.

⁴⁴ John Geise, "Household Technology of the Western Frontier," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, X (April, 1927), 86.

⁴⁵ United States, *A Century of Population Growth*, 78.

lived in incorporated communities of 2,500 or more; by 1940 the percentage was 66.5.⁴⁶

The existing class distinctions, already noted in the provincial period, were sharpened by the processes of rapid industrialization and urbanization. The wealthy continued to enjoy the social privileges which riches afford. Philadelphia after the Revolution became the social as well as the political capital of the nation. "Crowds of foreigners of the highest rank," wrote Mary Allen, "poured into Philadelphia, and Ministers with their suites from all parts of the world, came to bow to Washington and the Republic. . . ." ⁴⁷ The extreme gaiety of the Quaker City both taxed the energies and titillated the fancies of social butterflies. "I have not," wrote Mary Binney, "one minute to spare from French, music, balls, and plays. Oh dear, this dissipation will kill me! for you must know our social tea drinkings of *one or two friends* is an assembly of two or three hundred souls." ⁴⁸

Less opulent but quite as diverting were the amusements provided for the rising middle class composed of minor executives, clerks, professional men, and small entrepreneurs. After the War of 1812 American "Vauxhalls" began to make their appearance, to satisfy the appetites of gourmets and to cater to the histrionic tastes of theater lovers. The fine "ladies in high-waisted frocks and the beaux in white beaver 'toppers,' brass-buttoned blue 'swallow-tails' and saffron-colored nankeen pantaloons" could "see and be seen" as they enjoyed the pleasures of mild entertainment. These "Vauxhalls" offered an outlet "for their innate peacock instinct" and supplied life in the city with much of its sparkle. ⁴⁹

Contrasted with the pleasant diversions of the economically fortunate was the harsh lot of the poor, whose ranks were constantly being augmented. The number of paupers in Philadelphia had increased greatly after the War of 1812. ⁵⁰ Citizens whose social conscience had been pricked by the rising tide of pauperism appointed committees

⁴⁶ Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 8; United States, *Sixteenth Census, 1940*, II, *Population*, Part 6 (Washington, 1943), 13; Andrews, "A Century of Urbanization in Pennsylvania, 1840-1940," *Pennsylvania History*, X (1943), 11.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Anne H. Wharton, *Social Life in the Early Republic* (Philadelphia, 1902), 30.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

⁴⁹ Joseph Jackson, "Vauxhall Garden," *PMHB*, LVII (1933), 289-90; Harold D. Eberlein and Cortland V. Hubbard, "The American 'Vauxhall' of the Federal Era," *ibid.*, LXVIII (1944), 150.

⁵⁰ Othneir A. Pendleton, "Poor Relief in Philadelphia, 1790-1840," *ibid.*, LXX (1946), 164.

to investigate its causes. Contrary to the widely held belief (a belief which has its current supporters) that poverty is largely attributable to idleness, intemperance, and illness, a committee, of which Mathew Carey was a member, found (1829) that seamstresses, spoolers, spinners, and similar workers were greatly underpaid. Although distress was caused by drink in some cases, it was not responsible even for half the misery suffered by the poor. Consequently, the committee recommended "that wages be raised, that more employment be provided, that a society for bettering the condition of the poor be established, and that more money be given to the existing charitable societies."⁵¹

In 1830 Carey described the conditions under which large segments of the factory population lived. He spoke of visiting a family with two small children, all of whom lived in a single room bereft of all furniture save "a miserable bed, covered with a pair of ragged blankets." Both children, he continued, "were *destitute of shoes and stockings. The Younger Child had had its hands and feet severely frost-bitten. . . .*"⁵² Nor was this condition peculiar to Philadelphia alone. A Pittsburgh physician, testifying before a Pennsylvania Senate committee investigating factory working conditions, spoke of the poverty-stricken surroundings in which the children of workers lived. "Factory children generally," he said, "live in . . . narrow, ill-ventilated lanes, alleys, and back yards . . . in old frame houses where the atmosphere is . . . highly impregnated with putrid miasmata, arising from the offals of a crowded and miserable population—each family having, in many instances, only a single room for all the purposes of life."⁵³

Class lines, however, were not so rigid as to condemn all workers to a life of perpetual degradation. Even prior to the Revolution, J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur wrote of a peculiar quality or spirit, a kind of independence and resourcefulness, which he found typical of Americans.⁵⁴ Commenting on the American character, Hezekiah Niles emphasized (1815) the "almost *universal ambition to get forward*," noting that "in England it is 'once a journeyman weaver always a journeyman weaver.'" On the other hand, he pointed out, in the United States "one half of our wealthy men, over 45 years of age, were

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 168-69; *Hazard's Register*, III (1829), 228-29.

⁵² Quoted in Sullivan, *Industrial Worker*, 31.

⁵³ Quoted, *ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁴ J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* . . . (Philadelphia, 1793), 48 ff.

once common day laborers or journeymen, or otherwise very humble in their circumstances when they began the world."⁵⁵

The failure of wage earners prior to the Civil War to maintain national trade union organizations⁵⁶ and to develop a class consciousness was due in large part to this pervading spirit of individuality which characterized Americans generally. Edgar Cale observed that "the strength of the private property concept," "the extreme fluidity of the social order," and "the existence of much unoccupied land in the West" militated both against the growth of class consciousness and the solidarity of the trade union movement. At the same time he noted that the existence of unoccupied western lands as a factor contributing to class mobility was more psychological than real. Cale insisted that "the obstacles which stood in the way of wholesale migration in time of depression were several: cost of equipment for the journey, cost of sustenance during the journey, cost of obtaining good land, lack of farming experience, physical unpreparedness for a new type of life."⁵⁷

With the flowering of the Industrial Revolution accompanied by an increase in the industrial population,⁵⁸ the chasm between capital and labor widened. Great wealth on the one hand (Philadelphia in 1858 claimed twenty-five millionaires) was contrasted with widespread impoverishment on the other.⁵⁹ Pennsylvania now typified a social order made up of the usual three classes of capitalistic society: a small upper class of old, wealthy families and a few *nouveau riche*; a larger middle class composed of lower-echelon executives, professional men, clerks, and small businessmen; and a lower class comprising both skilled and unskilled laborers.⁶⁰

3. POLITICAL LIFE

The right of self-determination, established by the successful prosecution of the American Revolution, carried with it the responsibility for

⁵⁵ *Niles' Weekly Register*, IX (December 2, 1815), 238-39.

⁵⁶ Sullivan, *Industrial Worker*, 118.

⁵⁷ Edgar B. Cale, *The Organization of Labor in Philadelphia, 1850-1870* (Philadelphia, 1940), 7-11, 104-105.

⁵⁸ According to United States, *A Century of Population Growth*, 128, the swelling tide of immigration resulted in large annual increments to Pennsylvania's population from 1850 to 1900.

⁵⁹ Freedley, *Philadelphia and Its Manufactures*, 128 n.; Edwin T. Freedley, *Opportunities for Industry and the Safe Investment of Capital* (London, 1859), 51-52; Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, 2 vols. (New York, 1927), II, 393-99.

⁶⁰ Cale, *Labor in Philadelphia*, 6.

demonstrating the capacity to govern. Under the Constitution of 1776, the people of Pennsylvania clearly exhibited their ability to conduct the political affairs without engaging in sanguinary strife and without degenerating into anarchy. This was accomplished, up to the time of the establishment of the federal government, without the benefit of clearly defined political parties.⁶¹ Lacking a well-organized group of wealthy aristocrats capable of exerting an influence so powerful as to curb opposition, the State's principal political factions, often seemingly unaware of external conditions, fought their battles along local lines.⁶²

After 1793, when political divisions had begun to crystallize, party organizations and alignments centered around the question of additional federal acquisitions of power. The Federalists supported the Hamiltonian program and the Washington administration. In the main, they "feared a possible resurgence of democracy that might oust the rich, well-born and educated from the halls of government." Many of them disliked the violence of the French Revolution and later were sympathetic toward the British in their war with France. They were largely representative of the State's conservative groups. On the other hand, their opponents, later to be designated as Republicans, were opposed to the tenets of the Federalists. They favored the French over the British and deplored the centralizing tendencies of the federal government as manifestations of the aristocrats' attempted assumption of power and as being incompatible with free government. They were businessmen, farmers, lawyers, and physicians, who were quite as concerned with their own economic and social advancement as were their more conservative opponents.⁶³

The dawn of the nineteenth century witnessed the triumph of the Democratic Republicans. Their doctrines appealed to the farmers and urban working classes.⁶⁴ Stressing the principles of popular rule and local autonomy, the party's adherents abounded in all sections of the State irrespective of geographic, racial, or religious divisions.⁶⁵ The hegemony which it now enjoyed, despite its ambiguous stand on

⁶¹ Harry M. Tinkcom, *The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790-1801: A Study in National Stimulus and Local Response* (Harrisburg, 1950), 21.

⁶² Bernard Fay, "Early Party Machinery in the United States," *PMHB*, LX (1936), 381; Tinkcom, *Republicans and Federalists*, 21.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁶⁴ Sanford W. Higginbotham, *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics, 1800-1816* (Harrisburg, 1952), 325-27.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 326-27.

the tariff and the sectional dissatisfactions aroused over problems of internal improvement, began to crumble in the controversy over the Second Bank of the United States.⁶⁶

Of special significance in the late 1820's was the emergence of labor as a political force. True, the partisans of Jefferson made a strong and effective plea for the support of the people, but their "appeal was to the 'masses' against the 'aristocracy' of riches," and they made no specific plea to the wage earners.⁶⁷ They had been harassed by many economic, political, and social ills. Their unions were treated as conspiracies; and those who struck to obtain higher wages and better working conditions were jailed. Labor felt that "the abstract ideal of equality had failed to be translated into a concrete reality" and that "'true democracy had been cheated of any real, substantial victory.'" ⁶⁸ In the spring of 1829, the *Mechanic's Free Press* charged that "the manner in which the memorials of the working people have been first produced in the councils of the City of Philadelphia and secondly in the legislature of Pennsylvania show us clearly that we may expect neither favor nor affection, neither equal laws nor justice from any political party who may ascend into power."⁶⁹

But the workingman's chief complaint was the inadequate system of education provided for his children. There were the private schools for the wealthy; but there were only the hated charity schools for the sons of the poor. Labor deplored the lack of a state-supported system of schools providing equal educational opportunity for all children, while, at the same time, State subsidies were being meted out to the privately controlled colleges and universities. "Funds thus expended, may serve to engender an aristocracy of talent, and place knowledge, the chief element of power in the hands of the privileged few; but can never secure the common prosperity of a nation nor confer *intellectual* as well as political equality on a people."⁷⁰

Strengthened by organization (in 1828 the Mechanic's Union of Trade Associations was established in Philadelphia)⁷¹ and armed with

⁶⁶ Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 355-59.

⁶⁷ Charles A. Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, 1915), 401.

⁶⁸ Sullivan, *Industrial Worker*, 162-63; John R. Commons *et al.* (eds.), *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, 10 vols. (New York, 1958), III, 61 ff., 236; IV, 86-87, 273; V, 20-21; John R. Commons *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1918), I, 177.

⁶⁹ Philadelphia *Mechanic's Free Press*, March 14, 1829.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, February 20, July 10, 1830; Sullivan, *Industrial Worker*, 164-65.

⁷¹ Philadelphia *Mechanic's Free Press*, October 25, 1828.

an organ (the *Mechanic's Free Press*) speaking unequivocally in their interests, the wage earners geared themselves for independent political action. The Working Men's Party had a place on the ballot in Philadelphia in the elections of 1828. Although its showing in this initial attempt was a poor one, three of its candidates for the City Assembly and twelve for the Common Council (candidates who were also nominated by the Jacksonians) swept into office on the basis of the national triumph of the Democratic party.⁷² After the elections of 1829 the Working Men's Party held the balance of power in Philadelphia; and the *Mechanic's Free Press* boasted: "The balance of power has at length got into the hands of the working people, where it properly belongs, and it will be used, in future, for the general weal."⁷³ This triumph, however, was not to be repeated. The party lost its position of strength after the election of 1830 and disappeared from the political scene after 1831.⁷⁴ "Its failure," states one authority, "was due primarily to a combination of purely political causes, namely, the workers' inability to 'play the game of politics' and the all too excellent acquaintance of the old party politicians with the 'tricks of the game.'"⁷⁵

The Jacksonian influence continued to dominate the political scene in Pennsylvania throughout the remainder of the first half of the nineteenth century. But a complex of economic and political factors were in the process of maturing which were soon to spell the end of the Democratic party's domination. The forthright stand of the newly organized Republican party (the party was first organized in Pennsylvania at a convention held in Pittsburgh September 5, 1855) on the question of slavery, its clear-cut espousal of the interests of the State's large industrial forces and its unambiguous position with respect to the growing demand for high tariff barriers rendered the party capable of asserting its leadership at a moment of crisis.⁷⁶ Such a moment appeared with the Panic of 1857. The overthrow of the Democratic party, which the crisis of 1857 had consummated, was confirmed by

⁷² Sullivan, *Industrial Worker*, 174-75.

⁷³ Philadelphia *Mechanic's Free Press*, October 17, 1829.

⁷⁴ Sullivan, *Industrial Worker*, 177-78.

⁷⁵ Commons, *History of Labour*, I, 125-26.

⁷⁶ Francis Curtis, *The Republican Party: A History of Its Fifty Years Existence and a Record of Its Measures and Leaders, 1854-1904*, 2 vols. (New York, 1904), I, 211 ff.; Stanton L. Davis, *Pennsylvania Politics, 1860-1863* (Cleveland, 1935), 17-18; Eiselen, *Pennsylvania Protectionism*, 272.

the Republican triumph in the congressional elections of 1858.⁷⁷ Henceforth, the two-party system promised to be as characteristic of Pennsylvania politics as it was to become the distinguishing mark of politics in the United States as a whole.

4. RELIGIOUS LIFE

The right to maintain and propagate any religious opinion and to celebrate any form of religious worship was continued by the Commonwealth and made an integral part of the fundamental law of the State in the Constitution of 1776.⁷⁸ This freedom of religious expression stimulated the establishment of churches and contributed to Pennsylvania's reputation as a sanctuary for denominational diversity. Aside from the Presbyterians, who exceeded all other denominations in the number of churches established in Philadelphia, in 1796 the Episcopalians, Quakers, Methodists, Roman Catholics, and Lutherans were approximately equal in the number of their houses of worship.⁷⁹

Although it is difficult to form a precise chart of geographic distribution, available sources make it possible to note that by the decades of the 1820's and the 1830's, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were located principally in the western regions of the State. The numerous and active Lutheran and German Reformed churches were centered in the German counties. Principally in the southeastern part of the State, but also in other sections, were fifty or sixty Episcopal churches. The Quakers were confined chiefly to the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, Delaware, and part of Lancaster. The Roman Catholics were most numerous in Philadelphia and in Pittsburgh, especially after the migration of Irish to the west to work on the new roads and canals. Methodists and Baptists were found in practically every county of the State, but predominated in the interior and the West. The Moravians were particularly strong in Northampton and Lancaster counties. In the main, there were few incorporated boroughs that had not at least one church for almost every important denomination or creed.⁸⁰

The decades following the mid-point of the nineteenth century witnessed a large increase in the number of churches established by the major denominations. Of particular significance was the growth

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 244-48.

⁷⁸ Article II, Declaration of Rights, Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776.

⁷⁹ *Stephen's Philadelphia Directory, 1796* (Philadelphia, 1796), 64-66.

⁸⁰ Gordon, *Gazetteer*, see various counties; *Hazard's Register*, IX (1832), 264.

in the number of adherents and houses of worship of the Roman Catholics.⁸¹ Corresponding roughly to their numerical strength, the various denominations were active in founding secondary schools for the education of the children of their patrons.⁸² Similarly, they were also engaged in establishing colleges and universities as their resources permitted and as their inclinations and needs dictated. Thus, those churches which were well established and which demanded a trained clergy were quick in promoting institutions of higher education. Contrariwise, those denominations which opposed a "hireling priesthood," like the Quakers and the German Sectarians, lagged behind the others in this movement. The Catholics, on the other hand, became quite prolific in founding colleges and universities as their numbers and strength increased after the second half of the nineteenth century. Virtually all the denominational colleges and universities, as will be shown subsequently, were influenced by the secularizing process promoted by rapid industrialization and by the growing conviction that higher education should serve the secular as well as the ecclesiastical needs of the Commonwealth.

Institutions of higher education could scarcely remain unaffected by an environment characterized by the vast economic and social mutations which transformed the Commonwealth. The requirements of a changing society demanded corresponding changes in the orientation and program of the State's colleges and universities. Post-secondary institutions, if they were to survive, could hardly refrain from providing education for the secular and the mundane as well as the ecclesiastical needs of society. The emerging complex industrial technology required a scientifically trained personnel capable of solving its problems and of furthering its advance. In the process of meeting this demand, existing colleges and universities gradually turned from their original preoccupation with producing ministers to the secular task of educating for society's earthly occupations. At the same time, new institutions arose whose primary concern was the training of the competent technician. It is this trend towards the secularization of higher education that the ensuing three chapters consider.

⁸¹ United States, *Seventh Census, 1850* (Washington, 1853), 200-205; United States, *Ninth Census, 1870*, I, *Population* (Washington, 1872), 552; Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, 6 vols. (New York, 1905-1925), V, 219-20.

⁸² Mulhern, *Secondary Education*, 26 ff., 74 ff., 409 ff., 466-67.

CHAPTER XIV

The University of Pennsylvania

1. THE COLLEGE, ACADEMY AND CHARITABLE SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA

Fortified by a constantly expanding commerce, the beginnings of native industrial enterprise, and the rise of a gentry whose wealth was based upon the ownership of land, Pennsylvania by the middle of the eighteenth century possessed sufficient material surpluses and resources to enable some of its people to seek the cultural pursuits and the higher educational advantages they had, in the main, hitherto lacked. Increments to the population by virtue of increased immigration and natural causes had enlarged the base from which secondary and higher schools could draw. It was estimated that Philadelphia had a population in 1744 of 13,000, and that the Province as a whole by 1750 contained more than 150,000.¹ At the same time, changes in the religious composition of the colony had taken place. The Quakers no longer enjoyed a numerical superiority; the Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Reformed now constituted the majority of the religious community, and they vied with a vigorous Episcopalian minority for the respect and allegiance of the people.² In this atmosphere there was a stirring of religious consciousness sparked by the eminent evangelist George Whitefield, who on one occasion had so impressed Franklin with his preaching that he emptied his pockets of the silver and gold he carried instead of the "coppers" he had originally intended contributing to the collection.³

Interest in education beyond the elementary level was a natural, if not an inevitable, consequence of this materially advancing and culturally quickening environment. Perhaps others were as appalled at the dearth of educational institutions and the anti-intellectualism that prevailed as was Francis Alison when he arrived in the New World. He wrote in 1767: "That at my arrival here there was not a College, nor even a good grammar School in four Provinces, Maryland,

¹ Watson, *Annals*, II, 404; Dexter, *Estimates of Population*, 18; Mittelberger, *Journey*, 107.

² Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, 207-208.

³ Franklin, *Autobiography*, 120.

Pennsylvania, Jersey & New York, but on the other hand all y^t made any pretensions to learning were branded as letter learned Pharisees. . . ."¹ Attempts were made by religious groups, particularly the Quakers and the Presbyterians, to fill the void. But these attempts were sectarian in nature, and appealed to and were frequented mainly by those whose religious persuasions happened to coincide with the doctrines held by the schools of their choice. The establishment of a nonsectarian institution without religious bias or orientation awaited the genius of Benjamin Franklin.

While others played an important role in the founding of the Academy and Charitable School, Franklin was its chief architect, who tried to invest it with an educational philosophy that had evidently been brewing in his mind since his apprenticeship days, when he castigated Harvard College and questioned the worth of the attainments of its students.² As early as 1743, Franklin writes, he "drew up a Proposal for establishing an Academy"; but failing to obtain the services of the Reverend Mr. Peters to superintend the institution, "I let the Scheme lie a while dormant."³

At the conclusion of the war with France, marked by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (October 18, 1748),⁴ Franklin was again able to turn his "Thoughts . . . to the Affair of establishing an Academy." He interested his friends in the plan and wrote and published a pamphlet entitled *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, which he distributed gratis as a prelude to setting "on foot a Subscription for opening and supporting an Academy. . . ."⁵

These "Proposals" reflect the utilitarian philosophy of a man, "who is less concerned with the golden pavements of the City of God than that the cobblestones on Chestnut Street should be well and evenly laid, who troubles less to save his soul from burning hereafter than to protect his neighbors' houses by organizing an efficient fire-company. . . ."⁶ They proposed a curriculum which emphasized those subjects

¹ Letters to Ezra Stiles, December 12, 1767, Franklin B. Dexter (ed.), *Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles* (New Haven, 1916), 431.

² Richard Peters, *A Sermon on Education, Wherein Some Account Is Given of the Academy Established in the City of Philadelphia, Preach'd at the Opening Thereof, on the Seventh Day of January, 1750-1* (Philadelphia, 1751), 15, *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*; Thomas Woody (ed.), *Educational Views of Benjamin Franklin* (New York and London, 1931), 103-109.

³ Franklin, *Autobiography*, 123-24.

⁴ Richard B. Morris (ed.), *Encyclopedia of American History*, 2 vols. (New York, 1953), I, 65.

⁵ Franklin, *Autobiography*, 132.

⁶ Parrington, *Colonial Mind*, 178.

that were clearly related to the occupation to be pursued; for, said Franklin, "it would be well if they could be taught *every Thing* that is useful, and *every Thing* that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short. It is therefore propos'd that they learn those Things that are likely to be *most useful* and *most ornamental*, Regard being had to the several Professions for which they are intended."¹⁰ Though he emphasized the importance of an English education comprising writing, arithmetic, and study of the English language, history, and geography, Franklin, no doubt as a compromise with the traditions and feelings of his time and as a concession to many of those associated with him in the enterprise,¹¹ made no objections to the learning of the ancient languages by those whose profession required it or whose interests so inclined them. At the same time he urged the study of modern foreign languages, particularly the French, German, and Spanish for those who intended to become merchants. Franklin concluded his proposals relating to curriculum by recommending "*Universal History. . . . Natural History. . . . Arbuthnot on Air and Aliment, Sanctorious on Perspiration, Lemery on Foods. . . . Gardening, Planting, Grafting, Inoculating. . . . History of Commerce . . . Mechanical Philosophy.*"¹²

On November 13, 1749, the trustees of the academy, chosen "without Regard to Differences in religious Persuasions," held their first recorded meeting and adopted their "Constitutions of the Publick Academy in the City of Philadelphia" embodying essentially the principles enunciated by Franklin in his "Proposals."¹³ They said:

. . . nothing can more effectually contribute to the Cultivation & Improvement of a Country, the Wisdom, Riches, and Strength, Virtue and Piety, the Welfare and Happiness of a People, than a proper Education of Youth, by forming their Manners, im-

¹⁰ Benjamin Franklin, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania* (Philadelphia, 1749), 11, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See also Leonard W. Labaree et al. (eds.), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (In progress, New Haven, 1959-), III, 404.

¹¹ Benjamin Franklin, "Observations Relative to the Intentions of the Original Founders of the Academy in Philadelphia," Woody (ed.), *Educational Views*, 192-228.

¹² Franklin, *Proposals*, 11-25; Labaree et al. (eds.), *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, III, 404-18, *passim*.

¹³ Peters, *Sermon*, 16; College, Academy and Charitable School, Minutes of Trustees, I, November 13, 1749, p. 1. Footnote references to this institution will hereafter use the initials C.A.C. These and other minutes of the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania and its predecessor institutions are filed in the Secretary's Office at the university.

buing their tender Minds with Principles of Rectitude and Morality, instructing them in the dead & living Languages, particularly their Mother Tongue, and all useful Branches of liberal Arts and Science. . . .¹⁴

At the same meeting the trustees appointed a committee "to treat with the Trustees of the New Building, about taking a part of it for an Academy, and report the Terms on which it may be had at the next meeting."¹⁵ Funds were collected and subscriptions pledged in the amount of "*Eight Hundred Pounds a Year for five Years*," much of it contributed by the trustees themselves.¹⁶ Under the persuasive influence of Franklin's solicitations, the Common Council of Philadelphia agreed to contribute two hundred pounds towards completing the building purchased by the trustees; to give fifty pounds per annum for five years "towards supporting a Charity School for the Teaching of poor children Reading, Writing and Arithmetick"; and to give fifty pounds per annum for the next five years, provided they be enabled to nominate and send "one Scholar Yearly from the Charity School, to be instructed gratis in the Academy."¹⁷

Fully a year following their first recorded meeting the trustees agreed to open the academy "on the seventh Day of January next." To effect this resolve they elected Mr. David James Dove as English Master; Mr. Theophilus Grew, "to teach Writing, Arithmetick, Merchants Accounts, Algebra, Astronomy, Navigation, and all other Branches of

¹⁴ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, November 13, 1749, p. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* It may be noted here that the university, on the basis of the purchase of this building, designed in 1740 as a pulpit for the Reverend George Whitefield and as a charity school which the academy trustees agreed to effectuate, dates its origins from 1740. Those who hold with 1749 as the proper date of founding argue that the idea of an academy was not advanced until Franklin published his proposals in 1749; that no charity school had been conducted in the building until the academy trustees opened one in 1751; and that James Logan had offered the trustees a plot of ground upon which to erect the academy provided it be built within the space of fourteen years. *Ibid.*, December 26, 1749, pp. 1-2; August 13, 1751, pp. 14-15. See also Peters, *Sermon*, 14; George B. Wood, *Early History of the University of Pennsylvania from Its Origin to the Year 1827* (Philadelphia, 1896), 9-12; Montgomery, *History of the University of Pennsylvania*, 112-16; University of Pennsylvania, *Catalogue* (1893-94), 5; Samuel W. Pennypacker, "The University of Pennsylvania in Its Relations to the State of Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, XV (1891), 90-91; Edward P. Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940* (Philadelphia, 1940), 45-52; Francis N. Thorpe, *Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania*, United States, Bureau of Education, *Circular of Information*, No. 2 (Washington, 1892), 215-16.

¹⁶ Peters, *Sermon*, 16; Watson, *Annals*, I, 416.

¹⁷ Philadelphia, *Minutes of Common Council, 1704-1776* (Philadelphia, 1847), July 31, 1750, pp. 529-30.

the Mathematicks"; and Mr. Charles Thomson as a "Tutor in the Latin and Greek School."¹⁸ Notices of the opening of the academy were published in the press, and the school held its formal opening exercises on January 7, 1751.¹⁹

Deeming it expedient to perpetuate their trust in legal form, the trustees requested the formulation of "a Draught of a Charter for incorporating the Trustees of the Academy, in order to be sent over to the Proprietor for his Approbation." The proprietors approved the draft of the charter and ordered that on its execution the sum of five hundred pounds be paid to the trustees of the academy.²⁰ On July 13, 1753, in the presence of the trustees, the Governor incorporated "The Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania," endowing them with the right of perpetual succession. The charter empowered the trustees to own and purchase property, to sue and be sued in courts of law, and to make rules and statutes for the government of the institution not repugnant to the laws then in force in the Kingdom of Great Britain or the Province of Pennsylvania.²¹

The expansion of the academy into a college, though not contemplated by Franklin in his "Proposals" in 1749, was possibly hinted at by the trustees in the adoption of their "Constitution" where they aimed to lay "A Foundation for Posterity to erect a Seminary of Learning more extensive and suitable to their future Circumstances,"²² and was certainly envisioned by Peters as a prospective of the future in his sermon delivered at the opening of the academy in 1751. He spoke of the lots purchased contiguous to the new building as containing sufficient "Room to erect a commodious Square of Buildings to accommodate the Students with Apartments for Lodgings, and all other Conveniences," when the time came that "a regular College may be thought to suit the Circumstances of the Colony." Further, in describing the academy as a "Collection of Schools under one Roof," he stated: "Yet it is so ordered that with such Additions, as on Experience of its great Use and Benefit may be reasonably expected will be made to the present Fund, it may be improv'd into a Collegiate Institution, and every Kind of Knowledge be taught in it, that the

¹⁸ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, November 10, December 17, 1750, pp. 7½-7¾.

¹⁹ Philadelphia *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 8, 1750/51; C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, April 9, 1751, p. 8½.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, June 9, 1752, p. 23; April 10, 1753, p. 31.

²¹ *Ibid.*, July 13, 1753, pp. 33-34; Commission Book, A-2, July 13, 1753, pp. 150-53, Bureau of Land Records, Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg.

²² C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, 1.

most reputed Universities lay Claim to."²³ Later in the same year a committee of the trustees, of which Franklin was a member,²⁴ finding it difficult to formulate "Rules for the better Regulation of the Schools," proposed on the advice of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield that a translation be made of a pamphlet describing the plan of Francke's Paedagogium at Halle.²⁵ This was done, and a copy of it is still preserved in the archives of the University of Pennsylvania.

Whether the idea for enlarging the scope of the academy had been germinating in the minds of the founders and needed only propitious circumstances for its flowering, or whether the trustees were influenced by their study of foreign examples, is a matter for conjecture. It is reasonably certain that they were stimulated to move in the direction of instituting college classes by the needs of students who desired advanced study. Franklin pointed to this student need in a letter to Dr. Johnson, July 2, 1752. He wrote:

We have now several young gentlemen desirous of entering on the study of Philosophy, and Lectures are to be opened this week. Mr. Alison undertakes Logic and Ethics, making your work his text to comment and lecture upon. Mr. Peters and some other gentlemen undertake the other branches, till we shall be provided with a Rector capable of the whole, who may attend wholly to the instruction of youth in higher parts of learning as they come out fitted from the lower schools.²⁶

Thus, with the initiation of the philosophical school in 1752, the foundation for the college course was laid. The following year William Smith published his views on education in *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*. In this mythical institution the population was divided into two classes: those destined for the professions, and those whose leanings inclined them to mechanical pursuits. These were to be educated separately; for, as Smith maintained, "if the shortest way of forming youth to act in their proper spheres, as good men and good citizens, ought always to be the object of education, these two classes should be educated on a very different plan." However, the differences between the education offered in the "Mechanics' School" and that given in the "College" were not to be so great as to preclude large areas of similarity. "Most of the branches of science, taught in the college, are taught in this school," Smith stated; "but then they are taught

²³ Peters, *Sermon*, 18, 21.

²⁴ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, January 5, 1751, p. 8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, September 10, 1751, p. 15.

²⁶ Smyth (ed.), *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, III, 92.

without languages, and in a more compendious manner, as the circumstances and business of the common class of people require." He deemed it unnecessary to outline in detail the plan to be pursued by the mechanics' school, since "This school is so much like the English school and academy in Philadelphia, that a particular account of it is here needless."²⁷

Franklin and the Philadelphia trustees were captivated by Smith's essay. On May 3, 1753, Franklin wrote Smith informing him of his pleasure in the perusal of it. He said: "For my part, I know not when I have read a piece that has more affected me; so noble and just are the sentiments, so warm and animated the language. . . ."²⁸ It was small wonder then that when the question was put to the trustees "Whether it be necessary at this Time to provide a Person in the Academy to teach Logick Rhetorick Ethicks and Natural Philosophy?" that the trustees agreed "that Mr. William Smith, a Gentleman lately arrived from London should be entertain'd for sometime upon Trial, to teach the above mentioned Branches of Learning. . . ."²⁹

Only a few months elapsed from the time of his appointment when Smith, in conjunction with Mr. Alison, suggested to the trustees "that it would probably be a Means of advancing the Reputation of the Academy, if the Professors had a Power of conferring Degrees upon such Students as had made a suitable proficiency in Learning to merit that Distinction." They pointed to the fact "that several ingenious young Men, not finding that Testimony of their Acquirements to be had here, had left the Academy on that Account." The trustees agreed "that such honorary Distinctions might be an Incitement to Learning, and having Reason to believe the Governor . . . would readily grant the Power of conferring them, desired Mr. Alison and Mr. Smith to draw up a Clause to be added to the Charter for that Purpose."³⁰ In anticipation of the Governor's approval of their new charter, the trustees chose William Smith provost and Francis Alison as vice-provost and rector of the institution. On May 14, 1755, after the elimination of a provision which tended to confirm the provost and vice-provost in their offices for life, Lieutenant Governor Robert Hunter Morris signed the instrument which established "The Trustees

²⁷ William Smith, *A General Idea of the College of Mirania* . . . (New York, 1753), 9-15, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²⁸ Smith, *Life and Correspondence*, I, 25.

²⁹ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, May 25, 1754, p. 40.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, December 10, 1754, p. 45.

of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania."³¹

The new charter took cognizance of the advances made in the academy since it was first incorporated, in that it was "now well provided with Masters . . . and that one Class of hopeful Students has now attained to that Station in Learning & Science by which in all well constituted Seminaries Youth are entituled to their first Degree. . . ." It provided for a faculty consisting of a provost, vice-provost, and the various professors, empowering them with the consent of the trustees "to Admitt any [of] the Students within the said College and Academy, or any other Person or Persons meriting the same, to any Degree or Degrees in any of the Faculties Arts and Sciences to which Persons are usually admitted in any or Either of the Universities or Colleges in the Kingdom of Great Britain." Further, the charter contained a provision, destined in the future to be used as a weapon against them, requiring the provost, vice-provost, professors, and trustees to take oaths of allegiance to the British Crown.³²

Steps were taken to establish form and organizational stability by the adoption of a set of rules and statutes defining the duties of the provost and vice-provost and the general and legislative powers of the faculty.³³ Proceeding cautiously, the trustees agreed "that a Scheme of Liberal Education offered by the Faculty . . . be tried for the space of three Years from this Date and that Mr. Smith publish the Same in Order to obtain the Sentiments of Persons of Learning and Experience concerning it."³⁴ Posterity has recorded the fact that their caution and uncertainty were needless. Louis F. Snow states that the curriculum formulated by the provost was "an elaborate course of study at once systematic, regular and scholastic that endows the institution with a character unique among contemporary American collegiate establishments." R. F. Butts describes it as a program "which embraced the widest course of study and variety of subjects of all colleges in America at the time." Charles J. Stillé characterizes it as "the first graded course of studies of a higher kind ever pursued in an American college," which gave the young, native, American male the "opportunity of laying broad and deep the foundations of a liberal

³¹ *Ibid.*, March 7, May 13, 1755, pp. 49, 50; Commission Book, A-2, May 14, 1755, p. 193.

³² *Ibid.*, 193-95.

³³ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, July 11, 1755, pp. 57-62.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, April 13, 1756, p. 68.

culture, such as he would have enjoyed had he gone abroad for that purpose." And Edward P. Cheyney claims that "It was the earliest systematic arrangement, in America, of a group of college studies not following medieval tradition and not having a specifically religious object."³⁵

The outline of this program of studies as published in the press of the period, with Smith's comments as to purpose and methodology, is given below:

A VIEW of the LATIN and GREEK SCHOOLS,
on their present Plan.

1st STAGE. Grammar. Vocabulary. Sententiae Pueriles. Cordery, AEsop. Erasmus. *N.B.* To be exact in declining and conjugating. To begin to write Exercises, for the better understanding of Syntax. Writing and Reading of English to be continued if necessary.

2d STAGE. Selectae e veteri Testamento. Selectae e profanis Authoribus. Eutropius. Nepos. Metamorphosis. Latin Exercises and Writing continued.

3d STAGE. Metamorphosis continued. Virgil with Prosody. Caesar's Comment. Sallust. Greek Grammar. Greek Testament. Elements of Geography and Chronology. Exercises and Writing continued.

4th STAGE. Horace. Terence. Virgil reviewed. Livy. Lucian. Xenophon, or Homer begun. *N.B.* This Year to make Themes; write Letters; give Descriptions and Characters. To turn Latin into English, with great Regard to Punctuation and Choice of Words. Some English and Latin Orations to be delivered, with proper Grace both of Elocution and Gesture. Arithmetic begun.

Probably some Youths will go thro' these Stages in three Years, many will require four Years, and many more may require five Years, especially if they begin under nine or ten Years of Age. The Masters must exercise their best Discretion in this Respect.

Those who can acquit themselves to Satisfaction in the Books laid down for the fourth Stage, after public Examination, are to proceed to the Study of the Sciences, and to be admitted into the College as Freshmen, with the Privilege of being distinguished with an Under-graduate's Gown. The Method of Study to be prosecuted in the College for the term of three Years, follows in one general View:

³⁵ Louis F. Snow, *The College Curriculum in the United States* (New York, 1907), 66; R. F. Butts, *The College Charts Its Course* (New York, 1939), 71; Stillé, *Dickinson*, 15; Cheyney, *University of Pennsylvania*, 82.

A VIEW of the PHILOSOPHY-SCHOOLS.

FORENOON.		
INSTRUMENTAL PHILOSOPHY.		
FIRST YEAR.	LECTURE I.	LECTURE II.
FRESHMEN. May 15.	Latin and English Exercises continued.	Arithmetic reviewed.
First Term.	.....	Decimal Arithmetic.
Three Months.	.....	Algebra.
Second Term.	.....	Fractions and Extrac.
Three Months.	.....	Roots.
	.....	Equations, simple and
	.....	quadratic.
	.....	Euclid (<i>Stone</i>) six Books.
January.	Logic with Metaphysics.	.....
Third Term.	.....	.....
Four Months.	.....	The same a Second
	.....	Time.
	.....	Logarithmical Arith-
	.....	metic.
	N.B. At leisure Hours	N.B. On Construction
	Disputation begun.	of Logarithms, use Wil-
Remarks.	Duncan's Logic as a	son's Trigonometry, and
	Classic; to be supplied	Sherwin's compleat
	by <i>Le Clerc</i> , or <i>Crousaz</i>	Tables by Gardiner.
	on Syllogisms.	

SECOND YEAR.		LECTURE I.	LECTURE II.
JUNIORS. May 15. <i>First Term.</i> Three Months.		Logic, &c. reviewed.	Plain and Spherical Trigonometry.
		Surveying and Dialling. Navigation.	.....
	
<i>Second Term.</i> Three Months.		Conic Sections. <i>Steel's.</i> Fluxions. <i>Ditton's.</i>	Euclid, 11th Book. 12th Ditto. Architecture, with Forti- fication.
		MORAL PHILOSOPHY <i>begun.</i>	NATURAL PHILOSOPHY <i>begun.</i>
<i>January.</i> <i>Third Term.</i> Four Months.		<i>Viz.</i> Fordyce's compendi- ous System.	<i>Viz.</i> Rowning's—Prop- erties of Body, &c. Mechanic Powers. Hydrostatics. Pneumatics.
	<i>Remarks.</i>	<i>N.B.</i> Disputation con- tinued. Fordyce well understood will be an excellent Introduction to the larger Ethic Writers.	<i>N.B.</i> Declamation continued. Rowning as a general System may be supplied by the larger Works in the last Col- umn, recommended for private Study.
THIRD YEAR.			
SENIORS. May 15. <i>First Term.</i> Three Months.		Hutcheson's Ethics. Burlamaqui on Natural Law.	Rowning on Light and Colours. Optics, &c. Perspective. <i>Jesuit's.</i>
	
<i>Second Term.</i> Three Months.		Introduction to Civil History. to Laws and Gov- ernment. to Trade and Com- merce.	Astronomy, <i>Keil's.</i> Natural History of Veg- etables. of Animals.
	

January.
Third Term.
Four Months.

LECTURE I.	LECTURE II.
Review of the Whole.	Chemistry, <i>Shaw's Boerhaave.</i>
.....	Of Fossils.
.....	Of Agriculture.
.....
Examination for Degree of B.A.	.....
N.B. Altho' it is thought necessary to fix some Classics as a Text to read the Lectures by; yet there must be a Liberty of changing them left, when needful.	N.B. Thro' all the Years, the French Language may be studied at leisure Hours.

FIRST YEAR.

FRESHMEN. *May 15.*
First Term.
Three Months.

Second Term.
Three Months.

January.
Third Term.
Four Months.

AFTERNOON.	PRIVATE HOURS.
CLASSICAL and RHETORICAL <i>Studies</i>	MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES.
LECTURE III.	<i>For improving the various Branches.</i>
Homer's Iliad. Juvenal.	Spectators, Ramblers and monthly Magazines, for the Improvement of Style, and Knowledge of Life.
Pindar. Cicero. Select Parts. Livy resumed.	Barrow's Lectures. Pardie's Geometry. MacLaurin's Algebra. Ward's Mathematics. Keil's Trigonometry.
Thucydides, or Euripides. Wells's Dionysius.	Watt's Logic, and Supplement. Locke on Human Understanding. Hutcheson's Metaphysics. Varenus's Geography.

<i>Remarks.</i>	AFTERNOON.	PRIVATE HOURS.
SECOND YEAR. JUNIORS. May 15. <i>First Term.</i> Three Months.	N.B. Some Afternoons to be spared for Declamation this Year. <hr/> Rhetoric from Preceptor. Longinus, critically.	Watt's Ontology and Essays. King de Origine Mali, with Law's Notes. <hr/> Vossius. Bossu. Pere Bohours. Dryden's Essays and Prefaces. Spence on Pope's Odyssey. Trapp's Praelect. Poet. Dionysius Halicarn. Demetrius Phaereus. Stradae Prolusiones.
<i>Second Term.</i> Three Months.	Horace's Art of Poetry, critically. Aristot. Poet. critically.	Patoun's Navigation. Gregory's Geometry. Bisset on Fortification. Simpson's Conic Sections. Maclaurin's and Emerson's Fluxions. Palladio by Ware.
<i>January.</i> <i>Third Term.</i> Four Months.	<hr/> COMPOSITION <i>begun.</i> <hr/> Viz. Cicero pro Milone. Demosthenes pro Ctesiphon.	Helsham's Lectures. Gravesande. Cote's Hydrostatics. Desaguliers. Muschenbroek. Keil's Introduction. Martin's Philosophy. Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy. Maclaurin's View of Ditto. Rohault per Clarke.
<i>Remarks.</i>	N.B. During the Application of the Rules to these famous Orations, Imitations of them are to be attempted on the Models of perfect Eloquence.	Puffendorf by Barbeyrac. Cumberland de Leg. Selden de Jure. Spirit of Laws. Sidney. Harrington. Seneca. Hutcheson's Works. Locke on Government.
THIRD YEAR. SENIORS. May 15. <i>First Term.</i> Three Months.	Epicteti Enchiridion. Cicero de Officiis. Tusculan Quaest. Memorabilia Xenophontis, Greek.	

Second Term.
Three Months.

Patavii Rationar. Temporum.
Plato de Legibus.
Grotius de Jure, B. & P.

Hooker's Polity.—Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum. Compendis in Preceptor. Le Clerc's Compend of History.—Gregory's Astronomy.—

January.
Third Term.
Four Months.

Afternoons of this third Term, for Composition and Declamation on Moral and Physical Subjects.—Philosophy Acts held.

Fortescue on Laws. N. Bacon's Discourses. My Lord Bacon's Works. Locke on Coin, Davenant. Gee's Compend. Ray. Derham. Spectacle de la Nature. Rondoletius, Religious Philosopher.—HOLY BIBLE, to be read daily from the Beginning, and now to supply the Deficiencies of the Whole.³⁶

To elucidate the plan and to demonstrate its merits, Smith added the following remarks:

Life itself being too short to attain a perfect Acquaintance with the whole Circle of the *Sciences*, Nothing has ever been proposed by any Plan of *University-Education*, but to lay such a general Foundation in all the Branches of Literature, as may enable Youth to perfect themselves in those particular Parts, to which their Business, or Genius, may afterwards lead them. And scarce any Thing has more obstructed the Advancement of sound Learning, than a vain Imagination, that a few Years, spent at College, can render Youth such *absolute Masters of Science*, as to absolve them from all future study.

To direct them in this Respect, the last Column contains a judicious Choice of the most excellent Writers in the various Branches of Literature, which will be easily understood when once a Foundation is laid in the Books proposed in the Plan, under the several Lectures. For the Books to be used as *Classics*, at the Lecture Hours, will not be found in this last Column,

³⁶ Philadelphia *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 12, 1756. It is reproduced as closely as may be under the limitations imposed by the size of the present page.

which is only meant as a private Library, to be consulted occasionally in the Lectures, for the Illustration of any particular Part; and to be read afterwards, for completing the whole.

.....

In the Disposition of the Parts of this Scheme, a principal Regard has been paid to the Connexion and Subserviency of the *Sciences*, as well as to the gradual Openings of young Minds. Those Parts are placed first, which are suited to strengthen the inventive Faculties, and are *instrumental* to what follows. Those are placed last, which require riper Judgment, and are more immediately connected with the main Business of Life.

.....

Thus it is hoped the Student may be led thro' a Scale of easy Ascent, till finally rendered capable of *Thinking, Writing and Acting well*, which is the grand Aim of a liberal Education. —At the End of every Term, there is some Time allowed for *Recreation*, or bringing up slower *Geniuses*.³⁷

Anticipating the objections of those who would consider three years "too scanty a Period for its Execution," Smith, though not adamant in his opinion, considered "the Time will be sufficient for a middling Genius, with ordinary Application. And where both Genius and Application are wanting, we conceive no Time will be found sufficient." He asked that a fair trial be made of the plan, "before any thing farther is determined upon a Subject of such high Concern."³⁸

This curriculum remained in force, substantially, throughout the Colonial period. A year after its publication, seven students, comprising the first graduating class, petitioned the trustees to admit them "to such Degree or Degrees as we are entitled to by our several Standings and Proficiencies in this Institution." In accordance with their request, the trustees having previously examined and approved the candidates as required by the terms of the charter, issued their mandamus directing the faculty "to admit Paul Jackson to the Degree of Master of Arts and Jacob Duche, Francis Hopkinson, Samuel Magaw, Hugh Williamson, Francis Latta and John Morgan to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts." On May 17, 1757, the University of Pennsylvania, as the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, con-

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*; see also William Smith, "Account of the College and Academy of Philadelphia," *American Magazine*, I, Supplement (October, 1758), 630-40. This reproduces the table referred to in note 36 above.

ferred the first degrees in course to be awarded by an institution of higher education in Pennsylvania.³⁹

Though the college continued to make progress and to take those steps that were to legitimize its later claims to university status—like the establishment of the first medical school in America in 1765, and the first law professorship in the United States⁴⁰ in 1790—its path was beset by many difficulties, both financial and political. By 1761 the funds and subscriptions raised during its infancy were virtually exhausted, and the local sources of revenue drying up. Deeming it necessary, consequently, to seek support beyond the shores of Colonial America, the trustees decided to send William Smith to England. In the letter of authorization they gave Smith, the trustees expressed their concern for the future of the institution. They declared that despite the most rigorous economies the expenses were far exceeding the income and that their institution would be faced with extinction if help were not forthcoming from friendly persons abroad.⁴¹

As serious, if not of even greater consequence than their state of impecuniousness, was the unfavorable political situation in which the trustees found themselves. Their provost, William Smith, was an articulate proponent of proprietary interests in the colony. Writing in 1755, he decried the growing power of the people and the proportional diminution of proprietary influence: “. . . the People, instead of being subjected to more Checks, are under fewer than at first; and their Power has been continually increasing with their Numbers and Riches, while the Power of their Governors, far from keeping Pace with theirs, has rather been decreasing . . . ever since.” He attacked the Provincial Assembly for passing laws “in Manifest Contempt of all the Instructions of the Proprietary Family” and claimed that successive assemblies had illegally usurped the control and disposal of all public funds, thus rendering the governors subservient to their whims and caprices.⁴² Smith was a bitter foe of the Quakers, accusing

³⁹ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, May 10, 1757, pp. 83-84; William Smith, *A Charge, Delivered May 17, 1757, at the First Anniversary Commencement of the College and Academy of Philadelphia . . .* (Philadelphia, 1757), 2, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴⁰ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, May 3, 1765, pp. 288-90. For full discussion of the law and medical schools, see *infra*, 383-85, 436-440. See also C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, II, August 17, 1790, p. 214; Cheyney, *University of Pennsylvania*, 158.

⁴¹ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, December 15, 1761, pp. 152-53.

⁴² [Smith], *Brief State*, 8-9.

them of cunning and artifice in their attempts to maintain political hegemony despite their numerical inferiority. He characterized the German population as impotent prey of the unscrupulous Quakers and as ignorant of the "Horrors of *Popish Slavery*." He recommended "that a Stop be put to the Importation of *Germans* into this Province" until "they are taught the Value of the Protestant Religion, understand our Language, and see that they have but one Interest with us. . . ." ⁴³

Smith's vitriolic pen was also directed against Franklin, with whose political ideas he differed. In an article in the press in 1756, attributed to the provost, the author disparagingly referred to the "aspiring views of a certain mighty politician, who expected that every person would fall down and worship the Golden Calf. I had almost said the Golden Bull."⁴⁴ When objection was made to this vilification of an absent person, Smith replied with a contempt, whose damning effect was heightened by the subtle injection of faint praise: "No one desires to detract from the Gentleman's Merits and Abilities, but certainly they are not too high for competition nor wholly unparalleled."⁴⁵ Franklin, fully aware of these and subsequent denunciations, wrote in 1763: "I do not wonder at the behaviour you mention of Dr. S----- towards me, for I have long since known him thoroughly. I made that man my enemy by doing him too much kindness."⁴⁶

In this highly charged atmosphere of accusation and recrimination, the College and Academy of Philadelphia could scarcely remain unaffected. On July 5, 1756, the trustees resolved "that Examination be made into the Foundation of the Several Charges lately published to the Disadvantage of Mr. Smith, as the Reputation of the Academy might be affected by them."⁴⁷ Though four students of the "Senior Philosophy Class" came to his defense and the trustees could find no fault with his pronouncements on government, declaring that he had given them "sufficient Evidence of the Goodness of his Principles,"⁴⁸ they were not able to save him from eventual incarceration. The Assembly of the Province took him into custody; and the trustees, faced with the problem of providing continuing instruction for the college

⁴³ [Smith], *Brief View*, 53; [Smith], *Brief State*, 32-34.

⁴⁴ *Philadelphia Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, April 15, 1756.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, May 6, 1756.

⁴⁶ Franklin to Mary Stevenson, March 25, 1763, Sparks (ed.), *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, VII, 247.

⁴⁷ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, July 5, 1756, p. 70.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, July 5, 13, 1756, pp. 70-71, 72-73.

classes and entreated by students who wished to proceed in their studies, decided that the "Classes should attend him for that Purpose at the usual Hours in the Place of his present Confinement."⁴⁹

Relations between college and community continued to worsen. In the early days of January, 1759, the trustees denied the request of the faculty to answer "some Papers . . . published in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, in which many false and scandalous Aspersions were thrown on the Characters of the Trustees and Professors."⁵⁰ Nor did the subsequent actions of the provost and trustees serve to assuage the bitter feelings aroused against them. Against the advice of Franklin they accepted a gold medal offered by Mr. John Sargent to the student who wrote the best essay "on the reciprocal Advantages arising from a perpetual Union between Great Britain & her American Colonies." Indeed, so in sympathy were the attending trustees with Smith's political views, they spread upon their minutes that portion of his commencement address relating to the awarding of the Sargent medal in which he deplored the fatal misunderstandings that were destroying the bonds of union between Great Britain and her colonies, pointed to the debt of gratitude the college owed to British liberality, commended the patriotism of the students, and predicted that as a consequence of such patriotism "our Union shall be perpetuated, & our bleeding Wounds healed up without so much as a Scar by Way of Remembrance."⁵¹

Smith's forecasts were entirely too sanguine. The war with England broke out, and the provost and some of the trustees allied themselves, either actively or in spirit, with the Tory cause.⁵² Taking cognizance of the disaffection, the Assembly as a prelude to more drastic action passed an act (January 2, 1778) declaring invalid any "resolve, vote, ordinance or act of the trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia . . . made or done since the first day of September [last], or which shall be passed," so long as the British army occupied Philadelphia and for three months thereafter. In the preamble to this piece of legislation, the Assembly noted that "some of the trustees of the college and academy of Philadelphia are now with the British army under General Howe and in open hostility against the United States of America," while other trustees, "together with the vice-provost

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, February 4, 1758, p. 91.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, January 9, 1759, p. 99.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, March 8, 1763, p. 193; May 20, 1766, pp. 312-13.

⁵² Cheyney, *University of Pennsylvania*, 119.

and professors and other officers of the said college and academy, preferring the government and protection of this commonwealth . . . removed themselves out of the said city and still so continue. . . ."⁵³

With the diminishing of hostilities the General Assembly again turned its attention to a consideration of the role of the State's only institution of higher education. A committee was appointed February 23, 1779, "to enquire into the present State of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, its Rise, Funds, &c, and report thereon to the House."⁵⁴ During the process of investigation even the commencement exercises were postponed, since the "President of the State" informed them "that there are certain legal Objections to the Exercise of some of their Rights under their Charter."⁵⁵ The committee's findings, some of which were contrary to fact and the reality of the situation, reflected the intensity of partisan feelings generated by the Revolution. Admitting that the "College was Instituted upon a broad and catholic Foundation having equal Respect to all Denominations of Christians" and that it had been "endow'd by the Charitable Donations of well disposed People, public Lotteries and general Benevolence of all Societies," it nevertheless charged that the charter contained a special clause requiring each trustee to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain; "That divers of the late Trustees of the said College have, during the present Contest with Great Britain joined the British Army and now stand attainted as Traitors"; that the corporation in its general management "has shown an Evident Hostility to the Present Government and Constitution of this State, and in divers Particulars, Enmity to the common Cause"; that the funds of the institution "are now utterly inadequate to the Purposes of Education"; and that it has "sufficient Reason to believe that the fair and original Plan of equal Privileges to all Denominations hath not been fully adhered to."⁵⁶ On the basis of this report the Assembly enacted legislation which dissolved the faculty and trustees, deprived them of all possession, control, or administration of the property and functions of the institution, placed these in the hands of a new group of trustees, and erected the University of the State of Pennsylvania upon the foundations of the old college.⁵⁷

⁵³ Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, IX, 175 (Act of January 2, 1778).

⁵⁴ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, II, March 1, 1779, p. 120.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1779, p. 148.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, September 28, 1779, pp. 151-52.

⁵⁷ Bioren, *Laws*, II, 223 (Act of November 27, 1779).

With this act the institution ended a historic and turbulent phase of its existence. Though the legislature ten years later restored to those original trustees and faculty still living their rights in the management and property of the College and Academy,⁵⁸ the school lasted but two years longer. Plagued by debts, for the relief of which the legislature turned a deaf ear, and forced to compete for the favor of students with a similar institution in a community where one would have difficulty in surviving, the trustees decided to initiate proceedings leading to the amalgamation of the College and Academy of Philadelphia with the University of the State of Pennsylvania.⁵⁹ These negotiations achieved consummation with an act of legislature in September, 1791, uniting the two institutions under the title of the University of Pennsylvania.⁶⁰

2. THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Simultaneously with its dispossessing of the trustees and faculty of the College and Academy of Philadelphia of their estates and privileges, the legislative enactment of November 27, 1779, attempted to assure State control of the institution and to guarantee the perpetuation of its nondenominational character by vesting its property and government in the hands of a new board of trustees composed of the chief State officers, the representatives of the various churches in the city, and those lay individuals whose Revolutionary loyalty to the Commonwealth had been adequately demonstrated. Consequently, the President and Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council, the Speaker of the General Assembly, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the judge of the Admiralty, and the Attorney-General, by virtue of their several offices; the senior ministers of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, German Calvinist, and Roman churches; and specific individuals, among whom was Benjamin Franklin, making twenty-four in all, were endowed with the usual corporate powers, including the right of perpetual succession, under "the name, style and title of The Trustees of the University of the State of Pennsylvania."⁶¹

An oath of loyalty to the Commonwealth was required of all those connected with the university, superseding the one formerly given to

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 302 (Act of March 6, 1789).

⁵⁹ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, II, February 16, 1790, p. 194; July 11, 1791, p. 236; December 21, 1790, p. 224.

⁶⁰ Bioren, *Laws*, IV, 110 (Act of September 30, 1791).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, II, 223 (Act of November 27, 1779).

the Crown. Noting the poverty under which the College and Academy had labored and having made this one of the reasons for depriving the old trustees of their institution, the Assembly determined to rectify this condition by including in the charter a provision granting an appropriation accruing from confiscated estates which would produce an income of not more than 1,500 pounds annually. This constitutes "the first direct contribution made by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the cause of higher education."⁶²

The question has been raised as to whether the legislative enactment of 1779 abrogated the charters of 1753 and 1755 or merely amended them. Edward P. Cheyney, holding the latter position, claims that the very title of the act clearly established the intent of the Assembly: "*An Act to confirm the estates and interests of the college, academy and charitable school of the city of Philadelphia, and to amend and alter the charters thereof, conformably to the revolution and to the constitution and government of this commonwealth, and to erect the same into a university.*" Further, that section three of the Act of 1779 ratifies and confirms "to and for the use and benefit of the same seminary for ever" the charters of 1753 and 1755, "together with all and singular the rights, powers, privileges, emoluments and advantages, and also all the estates, claims and demands, to the same corporation," declaring null and void only the vote or by-law passed by the trustees June 14, 1764,⁶³ "and all others, contrary to the true design and spirit of the said charter. . . ."⁶⁴

Certainly the trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable School had considered their charter to have been abrogated.⁶⁵ The legislature of 1789 declared that by the act of 1779 it had created "a new corpora-

⁶² *Ibid.*; Pennypacker, "The University of Pennsylvania . . .," *PMHB*, XV (1891), 98. The limitation on the amount was not specified in the act cited.

⁶³ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, I, June 14, 1764, pp. 260-63. At this meeting the trustees endorsed the sentiments of the proprietors of the Province, who, fearful that the college might come under the control of one particular religious denomination to the detriment of all others, particularly the Church of England, asked the trustees to take such measures as would insure the status quo. Accordingly, the trustees resolved that they would keep the original plan of denominational representation "closely in their View, and use their *utmost Endeavours* that the same *be not narrowed* nor the Members of the Church of England or those dissenting from [them] (*in any future Election to the principal Offices . . .*) be put on *any worse Footing* in this Seminary than they were at the Time of obtaining the Royal Brief."

⁶⁴ Bioren, *Laws*, II, 223 (Act of November 27, 1779); Cheyney, *University of Pennsylvania*, 123 ff.

⁶⁵ C.A.C., Minutes of Trustees, II, title page.

tion or body politic . . . by the name, style and title of 'The Trustees of the University of the state of Pennsylvania. . . .'⁶⁶ Reflecting their own interpretation and possibly the prevailing sentiment of the time, the authorized publishers of the official laws of Pennsylvania in 1803 attached a rubric to section three of the Act of 1779 which stated: "Former charters and bye-laws, declared null and void."⁶⁷ A committee on education of the State Senate, appointed to review the status of higher education in the Commonwealth, delivered its report (March 1, 1822) in which it said:

In 1779, probably under the influence of feelings excited by the revolutionary struggle, the General Assembly passed an act annulling the charters . . . modelling the seminary upon its present form, under the name of "The University of the State of Pennsylvania," and vesting in the trustees of this new corporation, all the franchises and estates of "The Trustees of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania."⁶⁸

Presumably, the legislature of 1789 considered that the Act of 1779 had created a new corporation, rather than merely amending the college charter of 1755; for in their legislation of 1789 they repealed only that portion of the Act of 1779 which deprived the ancient college faculty and trustees of their property and rights, but left intact the new corporation called the University of the State of Pennsylvania.⁶⁹ Consequently, for a period of two years, two institutions of higher learning existed side by side in Philadelphia, each operating under a charter granted by the legally constituted authorities.

From this point in history, so distant from the origin of the actual events, it is impossible to determine whether the General Assembly intended to abrogate or only to amend the college charter. The legality of the act of legislature of 1779 has never been tested in a court of law. Opinions rendered now would serve chiefly as expressions of current conceptions of corporation law and could scarcely be considered as properly interpreting the intent of laws governing corporations in the past. Nor does this question appear to have more than semantic interest or significance. There is little question, as the subsequent history of the university adequately demonstrates, that the College and Academy of Philadelphia, aside from a change of name and the com-

⁶⁶ Bioren, *Laws*, III, 302 (Act of March 6, 1789).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 223, (Act of November 27, 1779).

⁶⁸ *Hazard's Register*, II, (November 29, 1828), 307.

⁶⁹ Bioren, *Laws*, III, 302 (Act of March 6, 1789).

position of its controlling body, continued without break or interruption to perform its primary function of providing higher educational opportunities to those who sought its services.

One of the first acts of the new board of trustees was to appoint a committee "to examine the Minutes of the former board of Trustees, the by-laws enacted by them, the rules and regulations made for the discipline and government of the youth & the General Plan of Education formerly pursued, and to select such parts thereof for the information of this board as may be necessary to enable the Members . . . to judge how far it may be necessary or proper to continue to make any alteration therein." The committee was also instructed to report "the Names of the teachers," the salaries paid them and the enrollment in the college classes, the Latin and English schools, and the charity school.⁷⁰ A similar committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the medical school and was directed to "request the several Medical Professors in the meantime to proceed in their lectures as heretofore."⁷¹ That these were more than token steps in preserving the continuity of function and instruction, is evidenced by the university's awarding of the degree of Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Arts in 1780 to students who had commenced their programs of studies under the aegis of the College and Academy of Philadelphia.⁷²

Even before the committee appointed to consider a plan of education for the university could make its report, the trustees decided to expand the scope of curricular offerings. They appointed David Rittenhouse as professor of astronomy; and after viewing with favor the proposal to appoint a professor of German, "whose duty shall be to teach the Latin and Greek Languages, thro' the medium of the German language," they elected the Reverend John Christopher Kunze, founder of Kunze's Seminarium, "German Professor of Phylology in the University."⁷³ Subsequently the General Assembly officially endorsed the professorship, decreeing that it should be continued in the university "as a part of the system of education carried on therein."⁷⁴ To effect a working organization, while awaiting the adoption of a more comprehensive program of studies, the trustees

⁷⁰ University of the State of Pennsylvania, Minutes of Trustees, III, December 3, 1779, pp. 23-24. Footnote references to this institution will hereafter be abbreviated U.S.P.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, December 8, 1779, p. 25.

⁷² *Ibid.*, April 24, June 27, 1780, pp. 60, 66.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1779, pp. 31-32; January 10, 26, 1780, pp. 38-39, 43.

⁷⁴ Bioren, *Laws*, III, 113 (Act of September 22, 1785).

elected the Reverend Dr. John Ewing provost and David Rittenhouse vice-provost and requested them to divide the instructional burden between them as they thought proper.⁷⁵

After more than two years of deliberation, the committee appointed to formulate a plan of organization for the various schools of the university presented a report, adopted by the trustees, which provided for professorships in the following disciplines: natural philosophy, moral philosophy, Latin and Greek, Oriental and German languages, history, mathematics, and English and oratory. Further, the report contained a resolution setting the minimum requirements for admission and for the obtaining of the baccalaureate degree.

Resolved, that there be four classes of Students in the Sciences, and that these be required for an Admission to the lowest, the writing a fair hand, the Reading English with Propriety, and a Gramatical acquaintance with a few plan [sic] Latin Books, & the Greek Testament; each Class to continue Four Years from the time of their being admitted; The Faculty to apportion the Hours of the Students to their different Studies; indulgence to be given to any student desirous of engaging in one or more Classes without intending to Qualify himself for a Degree; and Students from other institutions to enter into such Classes as the Faculty shall think suited to their progress:—Provided one whole year be spent in this University to entitle to a degree.

The plan also provided for the continuation of the German school and directed the professor of Oriental and German languages to give instruction in such languages to those of the college students who desired to study them.⁷⁶ Aside from its comprehensiveness, Cheyney characterizes this plan as unique, in that for the first time, so far as can be determined from the history of the university and of other colleges, history is treated as a separate subject and given a specific professorship. An even more distinctive feature of it, he claims, is "its replacement of the old 'Philosophical School' by four parallel groups of studies, an anticipation of the modern elective system."⁷⁷

Created by the State as an instrument for the furthering of its civic purposes and containing by mandate of law the chief State officers as members of its controlling body, the university considered itself a public, if not a State, institution. Its trustees and faculty had to sub-

⁷⁵ U.S.P., Minutes of Trustees, III, January 31, March 8, 1780, pp. 45, 54; T. Matlack to John Ewing, February 26, 1780, University Papers, I, 9, University of Pennsylvania Archives.

⁷⁶ U.S.P., Minutes of Trustees, III, July 2, 1782, pp. 126-28.

⁷⁷ Cheyney, *University of Pennsylvania*, 134-35.

scribe to the same oath of allegiance as was required of officers of the State government.⁷⁸ In selecting a seal, the trustees adopted the lesser State seal as the one to be used in the authenticating of official university documents. They even resolved that salaries paid to the⁷⁹ faculty and officers of the university "be estimated in the same Manner and according to the Standard that shall be fixed from time to time by the general Assembly for the fees of the Officers of Government."⁷⁹ As occasion presented, the university seized the opportunity to emphasize the fact of its creation as a deliberate act of the State. Upon the election of Thomas Mifflin as Governor of the Commonwealth, the faculty and trustees offered him their congratulations as officers "of a public institution which owes its establishment to the legislature of the State" and expressed "the pleasing expectation that while every private seminary of learning, within the State, will undoubtedly experience your patronage, the University of Pennsylvania, which is particularly committed to the care of its first magistrate, and in which the chief officers of government . . . are officially trustees, will enjoy a distinguished place of your attention & countenance."⁸⁰

The relationship between the State and the university, however, was not so close as to guarantee the solution of the institution's financial problems. Aside from the initial grant stipulated in the charter of 1779, and a loan of 15,000 pounds to be repaid in six months, made in 1780,⁸¹ the legislature failed to come to the aid of its Revolutionary creation. By 1787 the disparity between income and expenses had become so great as to cause the trustees to request of the faculty that they suggest "any Plan" whereby they thought "that the Expenses & Funds of the Institution might be rendered more commensurate to each other."⁸² A committee appointed in 1788 to study the fiscal condition of the institution reported that the annual expenditure for salaries alone exceeded the income by 669 pounds.⁸³ This condition was no doubt aggravated by the return of the College, Academy and Charitable School property to its original trustees, dictated by the legislative enactment of 1789.⁸⁴ In 1790 the faculty was constrained to remind the trustees that they "must be sensible that very considerable arrears are due to the Professors & teachers of the University, and that

⁷⁸ Bioren, *Laws*, II, 223 (Act of November 27, 1779).

⁷⁹ U.S.P., Minutes of Trustees, III, January 31, April 5, 1780, pp. 44, 59.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, December 30, 1790, pp. 71-72.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, III, February 8, 1780, p. 46.

⁸² Faculty to Trustees, 1787, University of Pennsylvania Archives.

⁸³ U.S.P., Minutes of Trustees, IV, August 25, 1788, p. 4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1789, p. 33; Bioren, *Laws*, III, 302 (Act of March 6, 1789).

these arrears have been continually accumulating for many Years past, while our salaries have remained unpaid or but partially discharged."⁸⁵ Though the trustees remained optimistic to the end and in their annual report to the legislature "flatter[ed] themselves that with such Aids as the Legislature will probably afford them they shall be enabled to render the Institution more eminently worthy of the warm approbation & patronage of its Founders," they had not hesitated to accept the invitation of the trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia to consider the uniting of the two institutions.⁸⁶ This was consummated and legally sanctioned by the legislature in the autumn of 1791, and it gave the university the name it bears today.⁸⁷

3. THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The act of incorporation of 1791 erecting the University of Pennsylvania stipulated that the institutions should be located at Philadelphia and that it should be controlled by a board of twenty-four trustees chosen equally by the University of the State of Pennsylvania and the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia. Like the charter of its university predecessor, it maintained a relationship with the State, but not in the same degree. The only State officer now represented on the board of trustees was the Governor. Possibly as a means of easier access to the liberality of the legislature, it too included a provision in its charter requiring the submission to that body of an annual statement of finances.⁸⁸

The closing years of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth century marked a low ebb in the history of the university. This was characteristic of the condition of colleges elsewhere and was not peculiar to the university alone.⁸⁹ Relations between faculty and trustees were strained largely because of the rigid and frequently inflexible control imposed by the latter upon all aspects of university life, even to those matters that are considered the special province of the faculty. The concept of legislative responsibility for the promotion of higher education in the State waned, and the legis-

⁸⁵ John Ewing and Sam Magaw to Trustees, February 3, 1790, University Papers, I, 50.

⁸⁶ U.S.P., Minutes of Trustees, IV, January 15, April 6, 1791, pp. 75-76, 89.

⁸⁷ Bioren, *Laws*, IV, 110 (Act of September 30, 1791).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Cheyney, *University of Pennsylvania*, 176-80.

lature ignored the pleas of the trustees for financial assistance.⁹⁰ Competition for the limited supply of available students had already set in with the establishment of Dickinson College close by and with the formation in the more remote regions of the western part of the State of academies which were shortly to emerge as Washington College, Jefferson College, and the Western University of Pennsylvania.⁹¹

It was in this atmosphere and under these conditions that the University of Pennsylvania was launched. Almost immediately after their election, the new trustees turned their attention to problems of faculty and curriculum.⁹² They finally decided to have a faculty composed of six professorships: natural philosophy; moral philosophy, rhetoric, economics and politics; Greek and Latin; mathematics; belles lettres and English; and German and Oriental languages.⁹³ The inclusion of the last of these professorships, though not new to the history of the university, was undoubtedly influenced by the plea of Henry Helmuth. In fact, it was he to whom the professorship was tendered.⁹⁴ What was significant here was not that the professorships differed in any essential degree from those which obtained formerly (the title of the former professorship of history was now changed to "Professor of Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, Economics and Politics"—his functions still included the teaching of history), but the detailed spelling out of the duties of each and the transcending of disciplinary lines. The professor of mathematics, for example, was informed that, "besides his Superintendence of the Mathematical School," he was to "teach the higher rules of Arithmetic; Algebra; Practical Geometry, and Trigonometry, plain and spherical; Conic Sections; Fluxions; Surveying; Guaging, Navigation; Mensuration; the use of the Globes and Modern Geography."⁹⁵

Even prior to his formal election as provost, John Ewing protested this arbitrary and detailed spelling out of the instructional duties and functions of the faculty without their consultation which were to be followed as slavishly and uncritically as a blueprint by a hired hand. He wrote:

⁹⁰ University of Pennsylvania, Minutes of Trustees, V, January 3, 1792, pp. 43-45. Footnote references to the University of Pennsylvania will hereafter use the abbreviation U.P.

⁹¹ *Supra*, 68, 72, 79-80.

⁹² U.P., Minutes of Trustees, V, December 26, 28, 30, 1791, pp. 34, 36-37, 38-41.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, March 29, 1792, pp. 57-58.

⁹⁴ Dr. Helmuth to Bishop White, December 4, 1791, University Papers, I, 65; U.P., Minutes of Trustees, V, April 3, 1792, p. 60.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 29, 1792, pp. 57-58.

Apprehending that the Trustees would naturally have submitted to us the arrangement of the Business of Instruction, we had formed our Plan before we knew any thing of a Plan formed by the Trustees, to which, from our Situation we are bound to submit; but upon being served with a Copy of the Minutes, we prepared to Drop our Plan & to adopt that of the Trustees, altho we are unanimously of Opinion, that ye Arrangement we had formed, would be much more for the Reputation of the Institution & the Benefit of the Students.⁹⁶

Nor was the faculty in agreement with the trustee-formulated curriculum for the Latin, Greek, mathematical, and philosophical schools—a curriculum which reduced the course for the “Philosophical Classes,” the accepted designation for the college course, to two years in length. At the same time it relegated certain of the classical and mathematical studies normally included in the college program to the two upper classes of the lower schools.⁹⁷

Provost Ewing continued to voice objections to the trustee-imposed curriculum and division of labor. Apparently using the only means of communication available to him, he informed the trustees by letter that at the faculty’s first perusal of the plan “it appeared to us at first Sight, to be liable to many solid Objections”; but now having put it into practice, “The Result of our Trial is a full Conviction of its Inferiority to the Plan which we had formerly pursued in the University.”⁹⁸ Ewing was joined by other members of the faculty, who criticized the curriculum from the point of view of their particular fields of competence.⁹⁹

These faculty protests had no visible effect on the determination of the trustees neither to entertain suggestion nor to brook interference with respect to the running of the institution. Each group placed the responsibility for the declining state of the university on the shoulders of the other.¹⁰⁰ Continuing his barrage of complaints by letter, the provost declared in 1800 that the diminishing number of students in the university had left him and the vice-provost with “nothing to do but to pray with the Students.”¹⁰¹ Either goaded or

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, April 26, 1792, p. 72; Ewing to Trustees, April 16, 1792, University Papers, II, 8.

⁹⁷ U.P., “Bye-Laws for Regulating the Latin, Greek, Mathematical and Philosophical Schools,” December 13, 1792, *ibid.*, 21.

⁹⁸ John Ewing to Trustees, February 6, 1793, *ibid.*, 40.

⁹⁹ James Davidson to Trustees, July 5, 1793, *ibid.*, 49; William Rogers to Trustees, March 4, 1794, *ibid.*, 59.

¹⁰⁰ Compare John Ewing to Trustees, May 5, July 7, September 26, October 5, 1795, *ibid.*, 86, 94, 105; U.P., Minutes of Trustees, V, May 2, 1797, pp. 162-63.

¹⁰¹ Ewing to Trustees, October 7, 1800, University Papers, IV, 41.

stimulated to action by communications from Ewing and Professor Davidson, the trustees appointed a committee "to examine into the State of the Institution and to report their opinion of the causes of the decline of the Seminary." The report of the committee absolved the trustees of any blame for the low condition of the university, but attributed it to the faculty's lack of competent application and attention to their duties.¹⁰²

It was not until 1810 that the trustees decided to organize the university into three distinct parts: the college, including a medical and law department, the academy, and the charity schools. Further, the collegiate department was to contain three classes—the senior, junior, and freshman—rather than the two as obtained heretofore.¹⁰³ Although this resulted in some improvement and appeared to overcome in part what the provost described in 1815 as "the utter indifference the great body of our Citizens exhibit to the giving of their children a finished education,"¹⁰⁴ the trustees in 1824 still sought the reasons which would explain why "an institution liberally, munificently endowed, provided with moral and physical sources of instruction, established in the midst of an intelligent population anxiously desirous to cover opportunities for educating its youth without seeking them abroad, languishes without a name, and gives instruction to a number of pupils so limited, as scarcely to exceed that of an ordinary grammar school."¹⁰⁵ They considered, among other things, that the addition of a fourth year to the college course—a proposal which had been entertained as early as 1819—might be of value in enhancing the reputation of the university.¹⁰⁶

Another year was to pass, however, before the report of a similar committee stimulated the trustees to action. The report not only advocated the addition of a fourth year to bring the university in line with "the practice of the New England Colleges," but sought to remedy "the want of a cordial effort and co-operation by the Professors of the Faculty of Arts."¹⁰⁷ By unanimous vote the trustees adopted the committee's recommendations and resolved for the first time to give

¹⁰² U.P., Minutes of Trustees, V, April 7, 1801, p. 232; "Report of Trustees' Committee to Investigate Decline of University," University Papers, IV, 90.

¹⁰³ U.P., Minutes of Trustees, V, October 10, 1810, p. 385.

¹⁰⁴ Frederick Beasley to Trustees, October 3, 1815, University Papers, VIII, 28.

¹⁰⁵ U.P., Minutes of Trustees, VII, June 2, 1824, pp. 73-74.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, November 2, 1819, pp. 296-97; Beasley to Trustees, November 26, 1819, University Papers, XI, 44; U.P., Minutes of Trustees, VII, June 2, 1824, pp. 73 ff.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, November 15, 1825, pp. 120 ff.

the faculty a share in the formulation of a plan of study and the organization of the classes.¹⁰⁸ From this newly established partnership between faculty and trustees emerged a four-year college curriculum.¹⁰⁹

Although the relationships between faculty and trustees continued to be strained and culminated in the dismissal of all the professors except that of mathematics in 1828, the faculty from this time on was given a larger measure of control in matters relating to instruction.¹¹⁰ The university's prestige rose in the eyes of the community; and its progress, though neither smooth nor unimpeded, was now an ascending one.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, December 6, 1825, pp. 128-30.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, January 3, 1826, pp. 135 ff.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, June 3, 1828, p. 231; U.P., Minutes of the Faculty of the Arts, July 30, 1828, University of Pennsylvania Archives; *Hazard's Register*, II (September 6, 1828), 118; U.P., Minutes of the Faculty, September 25, October 31, 1829, University of Pennsylvania Archives.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, July 30, 1829; Chevnev, *University of Pennsylvania*, 219 ff. Special aspects of the university's history will be dealt with in succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER XV

The State and Higher Education

1. THE POWER TO CREATE

Historically, the corporation, a concept whose principles had existed in Roman law in the "collegium" and "universitas" and had been given continued life by ecclesiastical and municipal bodies, arose about the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹ The need for powers or characteristics not possessed by individuals or by mere associations, among which are immortality, or the provision for the continuity of an object beyond the life of its members, and the ability "to hold property without the perplexing intricacies, the hazardous and endless necessity, of perpetual conveyances for the purpose of transmitting it from hand to hand,"² led to the creation of this artificial instrument. Since "the right to act as a corporation depends upon positive legal authority granted by the sovereign,"³ the state becomes the source from which this right is derived.

Prior to the Revolution the sovereign power rested in the hands of the proprietors of the Province. It was to them, consequently, or their appointed representatives, that the founders of the Academy and Charitable School applied for their first charter of incorporation in 1753, and it was from them that the second charter was obtained in 1755, elevating the academy to a college with the right to confer degrees.⁴ With the transfer of sovereignty to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the adoption of the first State constitution in 1776, all legislative powers including those of incorporation were vested in the Assembly. At the same time the constitution recognized the responsibility of the State for promoting education, including higher learning, by declaring that "all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities."⁵ This concept of State responsibility for higher education, with a slight change of

¹ Ernst Freund, *The Legal Nature of Corporations* (New York, 1897), 7.

² *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 4 Wheaton 518. See page 636.

³ Ernst Freund, *Police Power, Public Policy and Constitutional Rights* (Chicago, 1904), par. 358.

⁴ *Supra*, 267, 269-270.

⁵ Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, Sections 2, 44.

terminology, ("The arts and sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning.") was reiterated in the Constitutions of 1790 and 1838;⁶ and, though not specifically stated in the Constitution of 1873, it had become established as an integral part of State policy by virtue of legislative enactment and practice.

As early as 1791 the General Assembly, finding itself burdened by numerous requests for acts of incorporation, delegated a portion of this power to the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth. The act specified the necessary steps to be taken for the incorporation of persons associated "for any literary, charitable, or for any religious purpose. . . ." A statement or charter was to be formulated by the persons desiring incorporation and transmitted to the Attorney General of the Commonwealth for his opinion as to "the lawfulness of the objects, articles and conditions" of the document. If he found it consistent with the laws of the Commonwealth and of the United States he was so to certify to the Supreme Court of the State. The court, in turn, was to attest to its legality and transmit the charter to the Governor, who was required to order the Master of the Rolls to record the instrument.⁷ An early example of the exercise of this new Supreme Court function was the chartering in 1792 of the "Trustees of the Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia," more commonly known as Poor's Academy.⁸ Thus there were now two agencies of the State empowered to endow educational institutions with corporate existence.

The multiplicity of persons and associations seeking charters by 1840 led to the legislature's investing another branch of the judiciary, the courts of common pleas of the various counties, with the right to grant instruments of incorporation to literary, charitable, or religious associations, fire engine or hose companies, or beneficial societies or associations. In addition to this power of creation, the courts of common pleas were endowed by the Assembly with the ability to amend charters issued by the Supreme Court under the Act of 1791. However, the right of the Supreme Court to issue articles of incorporation or to amend them was preserved.⁹

⁶ Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790, Article VII, Section 2; Pennsylvania Constitution of 1838, Article VII, Section 2.

⁷ Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 50 (Act of April 6, 1791).

⁸ Law Book, No. 4, February 2, 1792, p. 281, Records of the Department of State, Division of Public Records, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.

⁹ Act of October 13, 1840, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1841*, p. 1.

From this time on, the courts of common pleas were given an increasingly larger share of the responsibility for granting charters. In 1854 their area of coverage was extended to include "Scientific, agr[i]cultural and other Associations."¹⁰ The following year they were authorized to alter charters in cases not hitherto considered their province.¹¹ By 1867 the power of the lower courts was expanded to permit them "to grant charters of incorporation in all cases in which the same is authorized to be granted, under existing laws, by the supreme court of this commonwealth. . . ." Further, the legislature validated all charters previously granted by the courts of common pleas in cases wherein the Supreme Court alone had the power to grant such charters and extended the right to the courts of common pleas to issue charters to other associations.¹²

With the adoption of the Constitution of 1873, effective January 1, 1874, the path was laid for eliminating the duplication of powers distributed among numerous arms of the government and for investing the right of chartering educational institutions in one agency of the State. The constitution prohibits the General Assembly from "Creating corporations, or amending, renewing or extending the charters thereof."¹³ Accordingly, the legislature passed the general corporation act of 1874 which provided that all nonprofit corporations, or corporations of the first class, shall be chartered by the court of common pleas of the county in which they are to operate.¹⁴ Thus, for the first time since 1790, educational institutions were to derive corporate existence from only one source of government power, the county courts of common pleas.

2. THE POWER TO CONTROL

Since the state has the power to create, the question arises: Does it also have the power to control or to destroy its creation? Definite limitations are placed upon the state by the federal Constitution. Two of these, among others, are significantly pertinent to the consideration of this question. First, the state cannot "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Second, the

¹⁰ Act of February 20, 1854, *ibid.*, 1854, p. 90.

¹¹ Act of May 7, 1855, *ibid.*, 1855, p. 477.

¹² Act of March 26, 1867, *ibid.*, 1867, p. 44.

¹³ Pennsylvania Constitution of 1873, Article III, Section 7.

¹⁴ Act of April 29, 1874, Pennsylvania, *Laws*, 1874, p. 73.

state is prohibited from passing any "law impairing the obligations of contracts."¹⁵ The United States Supreme Court decision of 1819 in the Dartmouth College case established the principle that the charter of an educational institution is a contract between the state and the incorporators. The essence of the court's decision is given in the introduction to the case:

The charter granted by the British crown to the trustees of Dartmouth College in the year, 1769, is a contract within the meaning of that clause of the constitution of the United States (art. I, s. 10,) which declares that no State shall make any law impairing the obligation of contracts. The charter was not dissolved by the revolution.

An act of the State Legislature of New Hampshire, altering the charter, without the consent of the corporation, in a material respect, is an act impairing the obligation of the charter, and is unconstitutional and void.

Under its charter, Dartmouth College was a private and not a public corporation; that a corporation is established for purposes of general charity, or for education generally, does not, *per se*, make it a public corporation, liable to the control of the Legislature.¹⁶

As a result of the Dartmouth College decision three principles were established governing the continued supervision by the state over incorporated institutions: first, the charter granted by a state to an incorporated institution is a contract and the vested rights in the charter cannot be altered without the consent of the trustees; second, the state may establish institutions of its own and exercise unlimited power over their life and transactions; third, the state may incorporate a provision in the charter of an institution reserving the right to alter or repeal it. But even this latter provision is subject to the limitation that the amendment or repeal does not substantially impair the object of the grant, or any rights vested under it.¹⁷

The first major attempt of the State of Pennsylvania to control an institution of higher education by the alteration of its charter was the Act of 1779, which deprived the trustees and faculty of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia of their property rights under the proprietary charters of 1753 and 1755, appointed a

¹⁵ United States Constitution, Amendments, Article XIV, Section 11; *ibid.*, Article I, Section 10.

¹⁶ Dartmouth College *v.* Woodward, 4 Wheaton 518.

¹⁷ William L. Bartlett, *State Control of Private Incorporated Institutions of Higher Education* (New York, 1926), 29-30.

new set of trustees, and changed the name of the institution to the University of the State of Pennsylvania.¹⁸ Without the authority of court decision it is impossible to determine positively if the act was legal or constitutional. However, the General Assembly did itself declare in 1789 that its legislation of 1779 was unlawful and restored the college property and charter privileges to the original faculty and trustees.¹⁹

Possibly as a consequence of the controversy generated by the legislature's amending the charter of the College of Philadelphia without the corporation's consent, the first post-Revolutionary college to be incorporated by the new Commonwealth, Dickinson College, contained a clause in its charter which prohibited the altering of the constitution of the institution as embodied in the articles of the incorporation in any manner other "than by an act of the legislature of this state." A similar provision was included in the charter of Jefferson College in 1802.²⁰ By 1817 the principle of State hegemony over the products of its legal creation was made more specific. The charter of Allegheny College, for example, contained the following clause; "in case of abuse of the privileges hereby given, or of the charter of the institution, or of the corporation hereby created . . . this Legislature reserve[s] the right of removing the said president and trustees . . . on due proof made of such abuse of their power, and appointing another president and other trustee or trustees in their place and stead, as the nature of the case may require."²¹

Following the United States Supreme Court decision of 1819 in the Dartmouth College case, the legislature unequivocally asserted its right to amend or abrogate instruments of corporate existence. Such a declaration of power, by way of illustration, is contained in the charter of Lafayette College granted in 1826. There the legislature reserved the right "to revoke, alter or annul the charter hereby granted, at any time they may think proper."²² Subsequently, following the principles emerging from the Dartmouth College case, this sovereign power was asserted and made a part of the fundamental law of the Commonwealth in the constitutions of 1838 and 1873. Both constitutions provided that the legislature should have the power to alter, revoke, or annul any charter of incorporation thereafter conferred by

¹⁸ Bioren, *Laws*, II, 223 (Act of November 27, 1779).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 302 (Act of March 6, 1789).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 473 (Act of September 9, 1783); VI, 209 (Act of January 15, 1802).

²¹ Act of March 24, 1817, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1816-1817*, p. 236.

²² Act of March 9, 1826, *ibid.*, 1825-1826, p. 76.

or under any special or general law whenever it might be injurious to the citizens of the Commonwealth, provided no injustice was done to the incorporators.²³

Thus far the discussion has been concerned with the power of the State to exercise control over the charters of higher educational institutions which possess the privileges of incorporation. Possibly of even greater significance is the authority of the sovereign to establish conditions upon which to predicate the acceptance or rejection of persons or associations seeking corporate existence. The need for the exercise of such power had clearly risen by the fourth decade of the nineteenth century with the formation of more colleges, or schools claiming to be colleges, than could be adequately supported either by the available sources of funds or the supply of students seeking their ministrations.

The "evil" attending this multiplicity of institutions was early noted by the Superintendent of Common Schools of Pennsylvania. In 1837 Thomas Burrowes reported to the legislature that "The chief defect of our collegiate system . . . is the too great number of the institutions. . . . Thus the talents which should command success, are forced to stoop to ask patronage; and the means that could with ease sustain three or four flourishing institutions, are rendered unproductive by sub-division."²⁴ Periodically thereafter, the reports of the superintendents reiterated this theme, though suggesting little by way of solution other than to offer financial aid to a few deemed worthy of State support and to allow the remainder to languish and to die eventually of neglect. Again, in 1862 Burrowes decried the pyramiding number of higher institutions, stating "that the number of colleges exceeds our wants by at least two-thirds. . . ."²⁵ Still, he had nothing new to add to his proposal of 1837.

It was not until 1865 that a radical solution to the problem of "multiplicity of our higher institutions" was offered by Superintendent of Common Schools Charles R. Coburn. He suggested that the State bring "all of our educational interest . . . under the scope of legislative authority" and place "all of our chartered institutions . . . to a certain extent, within the control of the School Department." Coburn argued that many of these institutions were "crippled in their labors" for want of adequate facilities and patronage. He believed

²³ Pennsylvania Constitution of 1838, Article I, Section 25; Pennsylvania Constitution of 1873, Article XVI, Section 10.

²⁴ Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, Pennsylvania, *House Journal*, 1836-1837, II, 556-57.

²⁵ *PRSCS*, 1862, p. 28.

that if they were granted State funds "and liable to official visitations by some State officer," that "it would greatly increase their efficiency and usefulness."²⁶

The following year, State Superintendent James P. Wickersham deplored the "loose manner of granting college charters" and urged its discontinuance. "Some of these," he stated, ". . . never organized under their charters, a number of them . . . eventually failed, and several now in operation, although colleges by legislative enactment, are scarcely more than good academies." This situation, he continued, "degrades the name, and is most unjust to those institutions which are truly colleges. Indeed, the Legislature ought to do something to right the wrong that has already been done." Wickersham proposed the enactment "of a general law regulating these institutions in certain particulars, but leaving their authorities entirely free to accept its provisions or not, at their option." This law would embody provisions "fixing the requirements of every institution claiming to be a college, and asking the benefits conferred by the law"; "requiring all colleges, accepting the act, to make annual reports to some properly constituted State authority, and to be open to the visitation of competent officers appointed by that authority"; "providing for a certain number of free scholarships" for pupils "from the common schools, through the academies, seminaries, and high schools of the State"; and "giving a liberal annual appropriation from the Treasury of the State, to all the colleges accepting the act."²⁷ In fact, he drew up a bill embodying these provisions and called a conference attended by the Governor, members of the legislature, and representatives from the University of Pennsylvania, the University at Lewisburg, Allegheny College, Dickinson College, Franklin and Marshall College, Haverford College, Lafayette College, Lebanon Valley College, Pennsylvania College, Washington and Jefferson College, Westminster College, the Western University, and Lincoln University, where the bill was modified and agreement reached to urge its passage by the legislature.²⁸

His labors and the labors of those united with him proved unavailing. Wickersham wrote acrid editorials in which he decried the pyramiding of unqualified institutions posing as colleges. He said: "Almost any private school with three teachers and fifty students, whatever else it may have, under our vicious system of local legislation, can obtain a college or even a university charter. It is high time

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1865, pp. 19-20.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1866, xvi, xxi-xxii.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1868, xxxiv-xxxviii.

some vigorous effort was made to check the evil."²⁹ Although he and the superintendents who followed him continued to press for appropriate legislation to alleviate a situation made even worse by the corporation act of 1874, which assigned to the county courts of common pleas the sole power of chartering corporations of the first class, little or no relief was offered by the legislature.³⁰

Despite the fact that social problems seem to intensify far beyond their rates of solution, they eventually succumb to some kind of compromise or resolution. This was the pattern followed by the movement to check the uninhibited granting of college charters before legislative action was obtained. In 1895 the General Assembly passed an act "To provide for the incorporation of institutions of learning with power to confer degrees in art, pure and applied science, philosophy, literature, medicine, law and theology . . . and providing a method by which institutions already incorporated may obtain the power to confer degrees. . . ." The act provided that any five or more persons, three of whom at least were to be citizens of the Commonwealth, seeking to obtain a charter of incorporation as a college, university, or theological seminary with power to confer degrees, should prepare a certificate of intended incorporation setting forth the name of the institution, its purpose and location, its term of existence, the names and addresses of the incorporators, the number of the directors, trustees, or managers, the amount of assets to be used in establishing and conducting the institution, the intended minimum size of the faculty, and a summary of the admission requirements and course of study. This certificate must then be presented to a judge of the court of common pleas of the county in which the institution is to be situated. Should he find its purposes and provisions lawful and not damaging to the community, he is to so certify and transmit the document to the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The act further stipulates that "No charter for such incorporation, with power to confer degrees . . . shall be granted until the merits of the application, from an educational standpoint, shall be passed upon by a board to be styled the 'College and University Council' "; nor should an institution "be chartered with the power to confer degrees, unless it has assets amounting to five hundred thousand dollars invested in buildings, apparatus and endowments for the ex-

²⁹ James P. Wickersham, "No More Colleges," *Pennsylvania School Journal*, XX (June, 1872), 389.

³⁰ *PRSCS*, 1873, xxvii-xxix; *PRSPI*, 1881, iii; *ibid.*, 1893, III-V.

clusive purpose of promoting instruction, and unless the faculty consists of at least six regular professors who devote all their time to the instruction of its college or university classes. . . ." Furthermore, no baccalaureate degree in "art, science, philosophy or literature" could be conferred upon any student who had not completed a college or university course covering four years. "The standard of admission to these four year courses or to advanced classes in these courses shall be subject to the approval of the said council." If the proposed course of instruction, the requirements for admission, and the qualifications of the faculty should appear to be sufficient to the College and University Council and if it should appear that the educational needs of the community in which it is to be located as well as the interests of the Commonwealth at large are likely to be served by the incorporation of the institution, then the council is to indicate its approval and recommend to the court of common pleas that the charter be granted. Should the council decide against the incorporation of the proposed institution, then the act prohibits the court from granting a charter.

Having obtained a charter under the provisions of this act, the institution is "subject to visitation and inspection by representatives of the council"; and if it should fail to maintain "the required standard the court shall, upon the recommendation of the council, revoke the power to confer degrees." The same procedure was to be followed by any colleges, universities, and theological seminaries incorporated prior to the passage of the act which desired amendments to their charters empowering them to confer degrees. These are required to submit evidence certifying to the possession of invested funds amounting to \$100,000. The act did not impair the authority of colleges and universities already possessed of the power to confer degrees provided they were able to certify within three months following the passage of this act that they held assets "for the purpose of promoting education in the higher branches of human learning" in the amount of \$100,000 and \$500,000 respectively.³¹

This legislation, according to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, heralded the beginning of a new era for higher education in Pennsylvania.

The act creating a College and University Council and imposing a property qualification as a condition of chartering new institutions with power to confer degrees, will check the indefinite multiplication of colleges with nothing to build upon

³¹ Act of June 26, 1895, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1895*, p. 327.

except faith in the future, and will thus pave the way for improving the scope and quality of higher instruction by strengthening the colleges that now exist. A great service will be rendered to the young people of the Commonwealth when it shall be no longer possible to inflate them with the notion that they are getting the discipline of a college course whilst in reality they are receiving an inferior training of whose defects a decade's competition in after life will convince them—possibly after it is too late to rectify the mistakes of their early education.³²

This prediction was not without foundation. The final break with the tradition of reticence speeded up the enactment of legislation and the adoption of standards designed to raise the level of institutions of higher education in accordance with principles formulated by recognized accrediting agencies. Bureaus of Medical Education and Licensure and of Professional Education were created in the Department of Public Instruction, bringing "Pennsylvania in line with the other States which by authority of law vest in the School Department the power of passing upon the preliminary education of students of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy."³³ The State Council of Education resolved to institute a system of visitation and inspection and to recommend to the courts that they revoke the power to confer degrees of those institutions which failed to maintain the required standard.³⁴ That continuing vigilance was necessary is evidenced by the findings of those charged with visitation and inspection: "[It] . . . is quite obvious that many colleges are granting degrees on rather low standards of achievement. A few institutions seem indifferent toward requiring a high quality of work while others appear too generous in their evaluation of credits for advanced standing."³⁵

New legislation was enacted to protect the unsuspecting from the claims of institutions which styled themselves "colleges," but which failed to meet the requirements of law. In 1937 the General Assembly passed an act declaring it "unlawful for any person, copartnership, association or corporation to apply to itself, either as a part of its name or in any other manner, the designation of 'college' in such a way as to give the impression that it is an educational institution

³² *PRSPI*, 1895, iv.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1924-1926, p. 91. By Act of May 20, 1921, Pennsylvania, *Laws*, 1921, p. 1014, the name of the College and University Council was changed to State Council of Education.

³⁵ *PRSPI*, 1926-1928, p. 147.

conforming to the standards and qualifications prescribed by the State Council of Education, unless it in fact meets such standards and qualifications. . . ."³⁶ This resulted in the initiation of proceedings by the State Department of Justice to restrain the owners and operators of business schools such as the Central Business College and Lincoln Business College of Philadelphia "from continuing the illegal use of the word 'college' in the names of their institutions." At the same time it caused the State Council of Education to disapprove applications for charters of such proposed institutions as the "New Kensington Commercial College" of New Kensington, Pennsylvania.³⁷

Even prior to what may be called the era of the "New Life" in higher education in Pennsylvania ushered in by the Act of 1895, sporadic and somewhat indirect attempts at control were made by the legislature. These were particularly aimed at correcting abuses in the awarding of degrees and at protecting the citizens of the Commonwealth from the hazardous ministrations of unqualified practitioners of medicine. Concerned with the practice of colleges in the remote regions of the State of establishing medical schools outside their counties (Jefferson College in Washington County and Pennsylvania College in Adams County may be cited as examples),³⁸ and no doubt influenced by the objections of previously established institutions in Philadelphia, where these new schools were generally erected, the legislature in 1840 declared it unlawful "for any College incorporated by the laws of this State, to establish any faculty for the purpose of conferring degrees, either in medicine or the arts, in any city or county of the commonwealth, other than that in which said college is or may be located."³⁹

Of more serious consequence was the growing practice of a few chartered colleges and medical schools of conferring degrees merely upon the payment of a stipulated fee, and also the emergence of persons who styled themselves physicians without the benefit of formal training. To remedy the former evil, the General Assembly (1871) made it unlawful for any college or university incorporated under the laws of the State with the power to confer degrees to award such degrees to any person upon the payment or promise of payment of

³⁶ Act of May 7, 1937, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1937*, p. 585.

³⁷ *PRSPI, 1942-1944*, p. 8.

³⁸ Jefferson College, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 29, 1824, p. 108, Washington and Jefferson College; Pennsylvania College, Minutes of Trustees, I, September 18, 1839, pp. 70-72, President's Office, Gettysburg College.

³⁹ Act of March 6, 1840, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1840*, p. 68.

some consideration. Penalties were to be imposed of fines not exceeding \$500 or six months' imprisonment, or both, for violations of these provisions.⁴⁰ Similarly, legislation was enacted attempting to define in general terms "the standard qualifications of a practitioner of medicine, surgery or obstetrics," as consisting of "A good moral character, a thorough elementary education, a comprehensive knowledge of human anatomy, human physiology, pathology, chemistry, *materia medica*, obstetrics, and practice of medicine and surgery and public hygiene." The act made it unlawful for a person "to announce himself . . . as a practitioner of medicine, surgery or obstetrics," who "has not received in a regular manner a diploma from a chartered medical school duly authorized to confer upon its alumni the degree of doctor of medicine. . . ." Fines of not less than \$200 or more than \$400 were to be imposed on persons found guilty of violating this act.⁴¹ Though not directly aimed at controlling the curriculum of existing schools of medicine, the law had the indirect effect of preventing the establishment of institutions whose standards did not conform to the provisions of the act. The Electropathic Institute, for example, was denied a charter with the power to confer degrees on the grounds that it did not require its graduates to fulfill the requirements of the Act of March 24, 1877.⁴²

Legislation, however, did not automatically put a stop to the illegal selling of degrees. Nor was this practice peculiar to Pennsylvania alone. The United States Commissioner of Education repeatedly warned of its widespread existence, characterizing those colleges and universities that committed such abuses as "frauds" and attributing the conditions "to the facility with which charters can be obtained from most State Legislatures."⁴³ With the establishment in Pennsylvania in 1895 of a legally constituted agency of government with the power of inspection and investigation, systematic efforts were initiated to eliminate those institutions guilty of the practice. In its very first report, the College and University Council noted that it was aware of the fraudulent conferring of degrees and of the legislation of 1871 that made it illegal.⁴⁴ Four years later the council, while recognizing its limited powers and the negative nature of its efforts, declared that:

⁴⁰ Act of May 19, 1871, *ibid.*, 1871, p. 271.

⁴¹ Act of March 24, 1877, *ibid.*, 1877, p. 42.

⁴² *In re Electropathic Institute*, 9 Weekly Notes Cases 31, 14 Phila. Reports 128.

⁴³ *USRCE*, 1877, CVII-CVIII; *ibid.*, 1880, CIX-CXIV.

⁴⁴ College and University Council, "Biennial Report on Higher Education in Pennsylvania," *PRSPI*, 1896, p. 660.

One of its chief functions is to prevent the establishment and to hinder the operation of so-called degree mills. If the Council served no other purpose, its existence would be justified so long as it assists in exposing degrees fraudulently bestowed and in drawing public attention to institutions which bestow diplomas not upon the basis of merit but for pecuniary considerations.⁴⁵

In 1908 its work was beginning to bear fruit, in that it could report that "the degrees of Pennsylvania colleges are receiving corresponding recognition at home and abroad."⁴⁶ By 1928 domestic "mills" had, by and large, been eliminated, although the threat still persisted in the form of foreign corporations chartered outside the State but operating within the boundaries of the Commonwealth. The Universal Chiropractic College of Pittsburgh and the Franklin Research University of Philadelphia were examples of these. They were declared illegal;⁴⁷ but their elimination did not obviate the necessity for eternal vigilance. As late as 1944 the State Department of Justice moved to indict the Pennsylvania College of Chiropractic and was spared the burden of prosecution only because the school ceased to operate.⁴⁸

Still another form of control was exercised by the State over institutions of higher education in Pennsylvania. Since this aspect of sovereign power is inseparably linked with the financial assistance afforded to those over whom the power is wielded, its nature and effects can be considered simultaneously with the history of State aid to higher education.

3. THE POWER TO AID

The principle of financial assistance to private, incorporated institutions of higher learning was established as a legitimate and proper, though infrequently exercised, function of State power even prior to the formation of the Commonwealth. During the provincial period two concomitant principles emerged that were eventually adopted as basic criteria determining the relationship between the State and the colleges and universities that were recipients of its beneficence. First, aid was given in the form of scholarship grants; second, aid was given without restriction or specific direction as to its use.

Seeking solution to the ubiquitous problem facing educational institutions, the trustees of the Academy and Charitable School of

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1900, II, 577.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 538.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1926-1928, p. 147.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1944-1946, p. 9.

Philadelphia enlisted the support of a political subdivision of provincial authority, the Common Council of Philadelphia. The council recognized its responsibility to participate in the educational process and voted to support the project so "That the Youth of Pensilvania may have an Opportunity of receiving a good Education at home, and be under no necessity of going abroad for it." Consequently, it was agreed to contribute £200 towards completing the building purchased by the trustees; to give £50 per annum for five years "towards supporting a Charity School for the Teaching of poor children Reading, Writing and Arithmetick"; and to appropriate £50 per annum for the next five years provided the council was allowed to nominate and send "one Scholar Yearly from the Charity School, to be instructed gratis in the Academy."⁴⁹

Similarly, the precedent was set for establishing the principle of the unfettered use of appropriated funds. Simultaneously with their approval of the charter for the Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, the proprietors of the Province unconditionally ordered a draft on their Receiver General "for the Payment of Five Hundred Pounds to the Trustees of the Academy."⁵⁰ When straitened circumstances compelled the trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia to send William Smith abroad to solicit financial assistance, he returned in 1759 with "a Deed of Gift from the Honourable Thomas Penn" assigning to the trustees "in their Corporate Capacity for the use of the Institution his fourth part of the Manor of Perkasié in Bucks County containing Two thousand five hundred Acres which the Trustees considered as a noble Benefaction from that worthy Gentleman and was received with a due Sense of Gratitude."⁵¹

With the disavowal of foreign domination and the adoption of the Constitution of 1776 providing for the encouragement of all useful learning "in one or more universities,"⁵² the State inaugurated a policy of aiding at the time of their founding many of the colleges to whom it granted charters. Thus, in the creation of the University of the State of Pennsylvania in 1779, the institution was endowed by charter decree with the income from a fund to be derived from confiscated estates not to exceed £1,500 annually.⁵³ Franklin College, incorporated in 1787, was given 10,000 acres of the unappropriated lands of the State,

⁴⁹ Philadelphia, *Minutes of Common Council*, July 31, 1750, pp. 526-30.

⁵⁰ C.A.C., *Minutes of Trustees*, I, April 10, 1753, p. 31.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1759, p. 108.

⁵² Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, Section 44.

⁵³ Bioren, *Laws*, II, 223 (Act of November 27, 1779).

together with 6 per cent allowance for roads.⁵⁴ In 1806 the act creating Washington College vested in the hands of the college trustees all the property of Washington Academy, included among which was 5,000 acres of land granted to the academy when it was chartered in 1787, provided poor children received free tuition, and \$3,000 appropriated ten years later with a similar provision entitling ten poor children to an education gratis at the academy.⁵⁵ Allegheny College was chartered in 1817 and was given \$2,000 by the legislature as an initial endowment.⁵⁶ The Western University of Pennsylvania was endowed by the legislature in its act of incorporation with forty acres of land belonging to the Commonwealth in the town of Allegheny and with all the estate, real, personal, and mixed of the Pittsburg Academy.⁵⁷ Madison College, chartered in 1827, was awarded the property of Uniontown Academy.⁵⁸

Subsequent State aid, however, was dependent upon the ability of the trustees of the various colleges to enlist the support of the legislature in their behalf. Some of these exerted greater influence and were more successful than others. Nor was aid apportioned in accordance with demonstrated need or worth. Appropriations were made individually and haphazardly without preconceived plan or design except for the undefined and inchoate one of offering some kind of assistance to higher education. The University of the State of Pennsylvania, despite its designation as the State university, received no new appropriation from the legislature in the eighteenth century, aside from a confirmation of its right to enjoy the income and ground rents from the confiscated estates awarded the institution in the incorporating act of 1779, and estimated at £25,000 or \$66,666.66.⁵⁹ Nor did the University of Pennsylvania fare much better in the first four decades of the nineteenth century. In 1807 \$3,000 was granted the university for the purpose of establishing a botanical garden; and in 1832 its real estate was exempted from taxation for fifteen years.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, XII, 391 (Act of March 10, 1787).

⁵⁵ Act of March 28, 1806, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1804-1806*, p. 573; Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, XII, 527 (Act of September 24, 1787); *ibid.*, XV, 501 (Act of March 20, 1797).

⁵⁶ Act of March 24, 1817, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1816-1817*, p. 236.

⁵⁷ Act of February 18, 1819, *ibid.*, 1818-1819, p. 61.

⁵⁸ Act of March 7, 1827, *ibid.*, 1826-1827, p. 79.

⁵⁹ Bioren, *Laws*, III, 113 (Act of September 22, 1785); W. R. Johnson, "Chronological View of the Enactments on the Subject of Education," *Hazard's Register*, XI (January 5, 1833), 2-6; Wickersham, *History of Education*, 377.

⁶⁰ Act of March 19, 1807, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1806-1807*, p. 87; Act of May 5, 1832, *ibid.*, 1831-1832, p. 517.

Dickinson College, of the fourteen colleges and two universities chartered by the legislature up to 1837, received the largest share of the State's bounty and attention. Since the aid afforded it has already been discussed,⁶¹ it is sufficient to note here that for the period under consideration fifteen separate pieces of legislation were enacted for its support or financial relief. By comparison with Dickinson College, the other extant institutions of higher education in the State suffered neglect. Franklin College was given two lots and a building in 1788 and 455 acres of land in 1819.⁶² Allegheny College was awarded \$1,000 annually for five years in 1821, \$1,000 annually for four years in 1827, and \$2,000 annually for four years in 1834, on condition that the college, without charge for tuition, prepare twelve students to become school teachers.⁶³ The legislature appropriated \$1,000 annually for five years to Jefferson College in 1821, \$1,000 annually for four years in 1826, and \$2,000 annually for four years in 1832, provided that six students in indigent circumstances be educated gratis for four years and, following the education of these six, that twenty-four students annually be prepared as school teachers.⁶⁴ Relief was afforded Washington College in the amount of \$1,000 annually for five years in 1821, \$1,000 annually for four years in 1826, \$500 annually for five years in 1831, on condition that the college prepare twenty students annually for five years as teachers, and in 1834 \$2,500 and an additional \$1,000 annually thereafter for three years.⁶⁵ Pittsburg Academy, the forerunner of the Western University of Pennsylvania, received 5,000 acres of land in 1787 and \$5,000 in 1798 provided the academy educate poor children, not to exceed ten at any one time, without charge for tuition. As the Western University of Pennsylvania, relief was offered to the institution by the legislature (1826) in the amount of \$2,400 annually for five years in consideration of the university's relinquishing its claim to forty acres of land given to

⁶¹ *Supra*, 62, 63-64.

⁶² Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, XIII, 11 (Act of February 27, 1788); Act of March 16, 1819, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1818-1819*, p. 124.

⁶³ Act of February 15, 1821, *ibid.*, 1820-1821, p. 38; Act of April 14, 1827, *ibid.*, 1826-1827, p. 321; Act of April 5, 1834, *ibid.*, 1833-1834, p. 192.

⁶⁴ Act of February 15, 1821, *ibid.*, 1820-1821, p. 38; Act of March 11, 1826, *ibid.*, 1825-1826, p. 109; Act of February 20, 1832, *ibid.*, 1831-1832, p. 81.

⁶⁵ Act of February 15, 1821, *ibid.*, 1820-1821, p. 38; Act of March 11, 1826, *ibid.*, 1825-1826, p. 109; Act of April 4, 1831, *ibid.*, 1830-1831, p. 453; Act of March 11, 1834, *ibid.*, 1833-1834, p. 107.

it by the Commonwealth in the act of incorporation of 1819.⁶⁶ Madison College was afforded assistance by the legislature in 1828 with a grant of \$5,000.⁶⁷ Lafayette College was given \$4,000 (1834) and for four years thereafter \$2,000 a year. The only limitation placed upon the grant was to prohibit its use for the payment of professors' salaries.⁶⁸ In 1834 the legislature appropriated \$3,000 a year for six years to Pennsylvania College and stipulated that fifteen young men be prepared as school teachers.⁶⁹ Marshall College in 1837 was granted \$6,000 and an additional \$3,000 annually for two years, provided that twenty young men be instructed gratis and prepared to become teachers of the English language.⁷⁰

The recognition of elementary education as a mandated function of State power requiring general rather than specific application, given substance in 1834 by the passage of legislation "To establish a General System of Education by Common Schools,"⁷¹ led to a corresponding change in State policy with respect to higher education. Commonwealth assistance to collegiate institutions up to 1837, appropriated on an individual basis, amounted to a sum approximating \$250,000.⁷² Yet, as Burrowes stated: "No one will contend that the good effected, has been at all in proportion to the expenditure. . . ."⁷³ With a view towards correcting this spasmodic and arbitrary practice of the past and with the emergence of a new concept, namely, the building up of a great system of public education embracing the whole field from the common school to the university,⁷⁴ the legislature passed a resolution in 1836 affecting higher education generally, rather than specifically. It was resolved:

That on or before the first day of November, annually, it shall be the duty of the president, faculty and trustees of each university or college, and the preceptor, trustees or managers of each academy or school, other than common schools, having

⁶⁶ Act of September 10, 1787, Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, XII, 489; Act of March 16, 1798, *ibid.*, XVI, 63; Act of March 9, 1826, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1825-1826*, p. 74; Act of February 18, 1819, *ibid.*, 1818-1819, p. 61.

⁶⁷ Act of February 27, 1828, *ibid.*, 1827-1828, p. 121.

⁶⁸ Act of March 11, 1834, *ibid.*, 1833-1834, p. 107.

⁶⁹ Act of February 6, 1834, *ibid.*, 34.

⁷⁰ Act of March 29, 1837, *ibid.*, 1836-1837, p. 96.

⁷¹ Act of April 1, 1834, *ibid.*, 1833-1834, p. 170.

⁷² Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, Pennsylvania, *House Journal, 1836-1837*, II, 556; William H. Dillingham, *Speech . . . in Favor of the Bill to Establish a School of Arts in the City of Philadelphia, and to Endow the Colleges and Academies of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1838), 12-13.

⁷³ Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, Pennsylvania, *House Journal, 1836-1837*, II, 556.

⁷⁴ Wickersham, *History of Education*, 384-85.

received aid from this commonwealth, to report the number of students in each class, and the total number of graduates, if any, course of studies pursued, financial resources and expenses, the future prospects of their several institutions, accompanied with such remarks as may illustrate their general condition, to the Superintendent of Common Schools, so much of which, it shall be his duty to lay before the legislature in his annual report, as he may deem proper.⁷⁵

This was followed two years later by legislation defining the bases for future State appropriations to the colleges, academies, and female seminaries of the State. The very title of the act, "A Supplement To an act to consolidate and amend the several acts relative to a General System of Education by Common Schools . . ." is indicative of the policy now beginning to take root. Aid for the next ten years was to be extended to those institutions meeting the following requirements: "to each University and College now incorporated, or which may be incorporated by the legislature, and maintaining at least four professors, and instructing constantly at least one hundred students, one thousand dollars. . . ." Corresponding aid in lesser amounts was also granted to academies and female seminaries provided they met the minimum requirements respecting curriculum, faculty, and enrollment.⁷⁶ At the same time the colleges were exempted from taxation.⁷⁷

For six succeeding years a maximum of nine colleges were recipients of the State's bounty.⁷⁸ However, the business depression of 1842, effecting "surprising changes in the pecuniary affairs of thousands of our most respectable citizens, a transition from affluence to poverty," was reflected in decreasing enrollments and a consequent languishing of many of the colleges encompassed by the Act of 1838.⁷⁹ The State, too, suffering from the effects of a depressed economy, reduced its appropriation to higher education by one-half (1843) and terminated future assistance to such institutions four years before the Act of 1838 had scheduled its end.⁸⁰

For more than twenty years thereafter the colleges and universities of Pennsylvania were forced to depend upon their own resources

⁷⁵ Resolution of April 1, 1836, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1835-1836*, p. 842.

⁷⁶ Act of April 12, 1838, *ibid.*, 1837-1838, p. 333.

⁷⁷ Act of April 16, 1838, *ibid.*, 514. See Section 29.

⁷⁸ *PRSCS, 1839*, p. 13; *ibid.*, 1840, 21-22; *ibid.*, 1841, p. 12; *ibid.*, 1842, p. 9; *ibid.*, 1843, p. 8; *ibid.*, 1844, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1843, p. 9.

⁸⁰ Act of September 29, 1843, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1844*, p. 5.

without the expectation of support from the Commonwealth. Nor was the policy of 1838 envisioning a comprehensive State system of education embracing all grades of educational institutions from the common school to the university ever revived, despite frequent exhortations from State superintendents and other educators.⁸¹ After the passage of the Normal School Act of 1857, the legislature renewed the discarded custom of aiding education beyond the common school level, although the normal schools were considered no more than secondary schools at best. Thus, the general appropriations act of 1861 directed the payment of \$5,000 in support of each of the two recognized state normal schools, those at Millersville and Edinboro.⁸²

Aside from continuing aid to the State normal schools, the Commonwealth reverted to its original policy of supporting individual and selected institutions of higher education. At first, assistance was confined to those schools offering technical and professional, particularly medical, education. During this period the Agricultural College of Pennsylvania (now Pennsylvania State University) was designated as the recipient of the benefits accruing to the State from the federal land grant under the Morrill Act of 1862.⁸³ The Polytechnic College of the State of Pennsylvania was awarded \$5,000 in 1867 for the purpose of establishing five State scholarships in the institution.⁸⁴ To the University of Pennsylvania (1872), \$100,000 was appropriated for the erection of a general hospital on condition that the university raise an additional \$250,000 for that purpose.⁸⁵ The following year the university and Jefferson Medical College were each to receive \$100,000 for the building of hospitals, provided that the former match the award with \$100,000 and maintain two hundred free beds forever and the latter also match the appropriation by a like sum and maintain one hundred free beds forever.⁸⁶

Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century the State continued to aid institutions offering medical and technical education. Among these may be listed the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, the Medico-Chirurgical Hospital of Philadelphia, the

⁸¹ Compare, *PRSCS*, 1844, pp. 4-5; *ibid.*, 1845, p. 10; *ibid.*, 1862, pp. 25-32, *passim*; *ibid.*, 1863, xxvii-xxviii; *ibid.*, 1865, pp. 19-20; *ibid.*, 1866, xxi-xxii; *ibid.*, 1868, xxxiii-xxxviii; *Pennsylvania School Journal*, XVI (June, 1868), 349-50.

⁸² Act of May 20, 1857, *Pennsylvania, Laws*, 1857, p. 581; Act of April 18, 1861, *ibid.*, 1861, p. 394.

⁸³ Act of April 1, 1863, *ibid.*, 1863, p. 213.

⁸⁴ Act of April 11, 1867, *ibid.*, 1867, p. 1.

⁸⁵ Act of April 3, 1872, *ibid.*, 1872, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Act of April 9, 1873, *ibid.*, 1873, p. 3.

Hahnemann Medical College, the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (Moore Institute), the Philadelphia Polyclinic and College for Graduates in Medicine, the University of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of building a veterinary hospital in connection with its school of veterinary medicine, and the Western University of Pennsylvania (University of Pittsburgh) in 1895 to establish in connection with its school of engineering a department to be known as the "Western Pennsylvania School of Mines and Mining Engineering."⁸⁷

In 1895 the Commonwealth broadened the scope of its assistance to selected colleges and universities by including appropriations for general educational purposes in addition to the technical and medical. This expanded policy was initiated with the University of Pennsylvania. A sum of \$200,000 was appropriated to the university for the two fiscal years beginning June 1, 1895, to promote "development of the advanced work of the university, including the special preparation of teachers . . . or the equipment of suitable buildings for graduate instruction and original investigation. . . ."⁸⁸ By 1897 the legislature began to eliminate the binding or limiting conditions attending its former appropriations and awarded Lehigh University \$150,000 for maintenance and general expenses.⁸⁹ This nonrestrictive policy was definitely established in 1903 with the inclusion of a clause whose wording has persisted virtually unchanged to the present day. In that year the General Assembly voted an appropriation to the University of Pennsylvania for two years for general maintenance, construction of buildings and purchase of apparatus "as the trustees may deem best for the interests of the University."⁹⁰

A second form of aid to higher education, though personal in nature, was adopted by the legislature in 1919. Four-year State scholarships were instituted, to be awarded to the graduates of both sexes of the secondary schools of the State on a competitive basis. Each county received one scholarship. In the event that any county embraced more than one State senatorial district, then one scholarship was awarded for each entire senatorial district.⁹¹ The success of this system of scholarships has been attested to by the Superintendent of

⁸⁷ Act of June 12, 1878, *ibid.*, 1878, p. 172; Act of May 6, 1889, *ibid.*, 1889, p. 99; Act of May 29, 1889, *ibid.*, 390; Act of May 29, 1889, *ibid.*, 393; Act of May 29, 1889, *ibid.*, 392; Act of July 5, 1895, *ibid.*, 1895, p. 619.

⁸⁸ Act of July 5, 1895, *ibid.*, 621.

⁸⁹ Act of July 26, 1897, *ibid.*, 1897, p. 425.

⁹⁰ Act of May 15, 1903, *ibid.*, 1903, p. 376.

⁹¹ Act of July 18, 1919, *ibid.*, 1919, p. 1044.

Public Instruction. He stated: "There has been a noticeable increase in the number of graduates taking the examinations each succeeding year. In 1919, the first year the law became operative, there were 204 applicants; in 1926, applications numbered 1,454. The number of high schools having candidates has more than doubled."⁹²

The history of State aid to higher education has traversed a cycle. It was initiated in the eighteenth century by the provincial proprietors in rendering assistance without the bonds of restrictive provisions and by the Common Council of Philadelphia in establishing scholarship funds in the Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, and it has returned to a substantially similar position in the twentieth century. However, aside from differences resulting from the impact of changing social and economic conditions, the General Assembly, unlike its Colonial predecessors, is circumscribed by constitutional provisions with respect to the kind of higher educational institutions to which it may offer its bounty. The Constitution of 1873 prohibits appropriations "to any denominational or sectarian institution, corporation or association."⁹³ When the legislature violated this constitutional restriction, as in the case of Duquesne University, the State Supreme Court rectified the error.⁹⁴

Currently, occasional warnings are issued to privately incorporated colleges and universities cautioning them to shun State aid on the assumption that rigid control invariably accompanies such assistance.⁹⁵ Whatever may be the experience in other states, this has not been and is not true in Pennsylvania. Intensive research has failed to uncover a single instance where the State has made curriculum changes or the adoption of specified administrative policies conditions precedent for the awarding of funds. The State's role has been confined to correcting abuses and to the establishing and maintaining of standards largely formulated and concurred in by the colleges and universities affected by them. Higher education in Pennsylvania has been singularly free to the present of State control or domination.

⁹² *PRSPI*, 1924-1926, p. 40.

⁹³ Pennsylvania Constitution of 1873, Article III, Section 18.

⁹⁴ *Supra*, 227.

⁹⁵ *New York Times*, January 14, 1954, p. 19.

CHAPTER XVI

The Secular Tendency in Higher Education

1. RISE OF SECULAR INSTITUTIONS

Endowed with a heritage of religious tolerance and fortified by an economy marked by rapidly expanding commerce and industry, Pennsylvania early offered an environment favorable to the establishment of secular institutions of higher education.¹ It was in this kind of social climate that Franklin, a man without church affiliation, could project and bring to fruition an institution without sectarian bias, the first of its kind in the New World, and one equipped with a program designed to meet the special curricular needs of the economy. At the same time it should be noted that such an environment was equally receptive to religiously oriented schools and that churches and church-related groups did not hesitate to take advantage of this fact.

Throughout the Colonial period the University of Pennsylvania enjoyed the distinction of being the only institution of higher education in the Province either of a secular or sectarian nature. After the successful prosecution of the war with England, proposals were advanced to expand the State's secular collegiate opportunities. Among the earliest of these was Benjamin Rush's plan for a complete system of state-supported education ranging from the common or elementary school to the university. In 1784 he wrote to John Montgomery, "I have at last finished my essay on 'A mode of education proper in a republic.'"² This together with *A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools and the Diffusion of Knowledge in Pennsylvania*, addressed to

¹ The term secular, as applied to institutions of higher education, is used, first, to designate those colleges and universities which were free of the control or influence of specific religious groups or denominations; and, second, to indicate those whose curriculum and orientation, either initially or in the process of evolution, emphasized preparation for the ordinary pursuits of life rather than training for the ministry. It should be noted that a few institutions appear in this chapter (particularly those whose only claim to life rests in a charter granted by an agency of the State) not because it has been established definitely that they were free of ecclesiastical control, but because they could not be identified with any particular religious group.

² Rush to Montgomery, March 9, 1784, RCLC.

the legislature and citizens of Pennsylvania, was published in 1786, and reprinted in whole or part in newspapers throughout the Commonwealth.³

Rush urged the establishment of one university at Philadelphia, the State capital, where "law, physic, divinity, the law of nature and nations, economy, &c. be taught . . . by public lectures in the winter session, after the manner of the European universities" and where the "professors receive such salaries from the state as will enable them to deliver their lectures at a moderate price." He further proposed that "there be four colleges. One in Philadelphia,—one at Carlisle—a third for the benefit of our German fellow citizens, at Lancaster,—and a fourth, some years hence, at Pittsburgh." In these colleges he would have the "young men . . . instructed in mathematics and in the higher branches of science, in the same manner that they are now taught in our American colleges"; and, if they could afford it, the students would "complete their studies by spending a session or two in the university. . . ."

Similarly, there would be an academy established in each county, and "free schools" erected in "every township, or in districts consisting of one hundred families." By means of this plan, Rush maintained, "the whole state will be tied together by one system of education. The university will in time furnish masters for the colleges, and the colleges will furnish masters for the academies and free schools, while the free schools, in their turn, will supply the academies, the colleges, and the university, with scholars, students and pupils."

Comprehensive in its conception, the plan also suggested the means for its execution. Rush proposed a small addition to the funds of Dickinson College, deeming the University of the State of Pennsylvania sufficiently endowed to continue without additional State aid. Further, he urged the appropriation of State lands and the levying of a tax on each county of from two to four hundred pounds a year for the support of the academies. The free schools were to be maintained similarly by grants of Commonwealth lands, the levying of a tax of from thirty to forty pounds a year upon each district of one hundred families, and the setting of a tuition fee per pupil for the support of the schoolmaster of "from 1 6 to 2 6 every quarter."⁴ Evidently, por-

³ See, for example, *Pittsburgh Gazette*, March 3, 10, 17, 24, April 1, 1787.

⁴ Benjamin Rush, *A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools and Diffusion of Knowledge in Pennsylvania; to Which Are Added Thoughts upon the Mode of Education, Proper in a Republic . . .* (Philadelphia, 1786), 4-8, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

tions of Rush's plan met with considerable favor, for the legislature appropriated lands and funds for the use of its colleges and academies, inaugurated a State-wide system of common schools some fifty years later, and adopted a unified, albeit a short-lived plan of Commonwealth support for higher education in 1838.⁵

The advantages of secular, publicly supported universities were promulgated on a national as well as on a State scale. An article appeared in the press as early as 1786 urging that Congress "instead of laying out half a million of dollars in building a federal town, appropriate only a fourth part of that sum in founding a federal university." "In this university," the anonymous author continued, would be taught "every thing connected with government, such as history, the law of nature and nations, the civil law, the municipal laws of our country, and the principles of commerce. . . ." The curriculum would also include "gunnery, fortification, and every thing connected with defensive and offensive war." "Above all," he insisted, there should be "a professor, of what is called in the European universities, of [*sic*] economy," whose "business should be to unfold the principles and practice of agriculture and manufactures of all kinds. . . ." The author concluded: "To this seminary, young men should be encouraged to repair after completing their academical studies in the colleges of their respective states; the honors and offices of the United States should, after a while be confined to persons who had imbibed liberal and republican ideas in this university."⁶

In the Federal Convention of 1787, Charles Pinckney and James Madison both proposed that Congress be given power for creating and maintaining a national university at the nation's capital.⁷ Washington repeatedly advocated the establishment of such an institution. Comments on the subject are to be found in his letters to John Adams (November 27, 1794), Edmund Randolph (December 15, 1794), the Commissioners of the Federal District (January 28, 1795; October 21, 1796), Thomas Jefferson (March 15, 1795), Robert Brooke (March 16, 1795), Alexander Hamilton (September 1, 1796), and the Commissioners of the City of Washington (December 1, 1796); in his Farewell Address to Congress in 1796; and in his final will and testament, wherein he made a specific bequest for its endowment should

⁵ *Supra*, 310.

⁶ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, August 26, 1786.

⁷ Lewis R. Harley, "The Functions of a National University," *Pennsylvania School Journal*, XLVI (September, 1897), 118.

such a federal university be established.⁸ Throughout the nineteenth century advocates of the movement pressed for the adoption of the measure by means of articles in educational journals, the formulation of bills, and resolutions of the National Teachers' Association.⁹

The proponents of secular higher education in Pennsylvania were scarcely more successful in their efforts than were the advocates of a federal university. In 1826 a town meeting held in Philadelphia appointed a committee "to digest and report a plan for a college, where English literature, the sciences, and the liberal arts, shall be fully taught, unconnected with the Greek and Latin, and for admission into which there shall be no prerequisite of having studied these languages."¹⁰ The plan formulated by this committee set the pattern followed, by and large, by those few secular institutions which subsequently achieved successful and continuous existence in Pennsylvania.

It was proposed to differentiate this college from all others not only with respect to the elimination of Latin and Greek from its required curriculum, but basically with respect to the lifework of the students whom it was designed to attract. "They are decidedly of the opinion," reported the committee, "that the plan ought to embrace every branch of knowledge that is required for the agricultural, the scientific mechanic or manufacturer, the architect, the civil engineer, the merchant, or other complete man of business." Consequently, everything comprehended by what was commonly called an "English education" was to be included: principles of grammar, arithmetic, belles lettres, history, geography, and chronology were to form the elementary part of the curriculum. Its more advanced or collegiate features were provided for in the contemplated offering of eminently practical and utilitarian disciplines. Higher mathematics; "natural philosophy, including mechanics and astronomy"; chemistry and mineralogy; the principles of perspective and mechanical and architectural drawing; "political economy, and the general principles of government, and jurisprudence"; and the living languages of French, Spanish, and German, were to form the base of the course of study.¹¹

⁸ *Old South Leaflets*, IV, No. 76, pp. 1-16.

⁹ *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, III (March, 1857), 213-16; *Pennsylvania School Journal*, XXI (October, 1872), 131-32; *ibid.*, XLVI (September, 1897), 118.

¹⁰ "College in Philadelphia," *American Journal of Education*, I (September, 1826), 566.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 566-67.

Pamphlets were written extolling the virtues of and the necessity for such an institution. Mathew Carey published a lengthy essay in which he cited Rush's polemics of 1789 against the dead languages, Bacon's plea for the inclusion of the arts and sciences in the program of the universities, William Penn's claim that, though languages are not to be despised, "things are still to be preferred," and Locke's proposal to limit the study of Latin and Greek to those whose professions require them.¹² Twelve years later, William H. Dillingham, member of the House of Representatives of the Pennsylvania legislature, pleaded for an appropriation of \$100,000 for such a "School of Arts," maintaining that "This State has done comparatively nothing for liberal learning."¹³ However, all these efforts were to prove unfruitful. There is no evidence that such a college progressed farther than the planning stage.

In 1836 the General Assembly incorporated Haddington College in the county of Philadelphia, "for the purpose of educating youth in the English, learned and foreign languages, the liberal arts, sciences and literature. . . ." The original incorporators were to serve as the trustees of the college until an election, scheduled by charter decree for October, 1836, was held. At that time the trustees were to be chosen by "the contributors to said college; the amount of contribution, and the qualifications entitling to a vote, to be determined on by the board at their first meeting under this charter. . . ." A faculty consisting of the president, professors, and tutors was provided for and empowered, with the approbation of the board of trustees, "to grant such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences . . . as are usually granted and conferred in colleges. . . ." The legislature reserved the right "to revoke, alter or amend the charter hereby granted, at any time they may think proper."¹⁴

The institution's life, however, was a short one. In 1836 the college was reported as having a student enrollment of sixty served by a faculty of four professors. Three years later the institution no longer appeared among the "Colleges in the United States," listed in the *American Annals of Education*.¹⁵ An attempt was made to revive the school in 1848 under a new name, the William Penn College. The

¹² Mathew Carey, *Reflexions on the Proposed Plan for Establishing a College in Philadelphia . . .* (Philadelphia, 1826), 2 ff., 16-17, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹³ Dillingham, *Speech . . . in Favor of the Bill to Establish a School of Arts*, 12.

¹⁴ Act of March 31, 1836, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1835-1836*, p. 290.

¹⁵ *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, VI (December, 1836), 556; *ibid.*, IX (May, 1839), 212.

former method of selecting the trustees by the votes of the contributors was changed, permitting the board itself to fill all vacancies in its membership.¹⁶ But, aside from this formal act of charter amendment, history has failed to record any concrete signs of vital activity.

Even less productive of results were the efforts of a group of interested gentlemen to found an institution in the township of Roxborough, Philadelphia County, by the name of Rittenhouse College. An act was secured from the legislature in 1837 incorporating the progenitors as the "President and Fellows of Rittenhouse College," with "the same powers generally as are granted to other academic and collegiate institutions within this state. . . ." The president of the college, the Governor of the State, and the speakers of the Senate and House of Representatives were each to be *ex officio* members of the corporation. Since the term of trustee or fellow was limited to seven years, vacancies in the board were to be filled by annual elections conducted and participated in by "the freemen of the township of Roxborough" and by the annual appointment of "one judicious citizen" each by the Senate and House of Representatives. In the event of the dissolution of the corporation, "from any cause whatsoever, all the property, real or personal, belonging thereto, shall revert to the guardianship of the legislature of this state, for the furtherance of the cause of education in this vicinity."¹⁷

To attract public support the trustees issued a brochure setting forth the aims and needs of the contemplated college and announcing the receipt of a gift of "a very handsome lot or square of ground situate in the healthy and flourishing town of Manayunk" in Roxborough Township. Apparently influenced by the movement to found a college devoted to promoting scientific and technical education and devoid of the dead languages, the fellows declared that

Rittenhouse College will contain all those departments of literature and science that are found in similar institutions in the United States, with one peculiarity only, viz. that when the parent or guardian of any pupil shall desire that he shall be instructed in the sciences only, he shall be received into the institution without having made the usual progress in the dead languages, and without being obliged to study those languages while attending the course.

¹⁶ Act of April 1, 1848, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1848*, p. 320.

¹⁷ Act of March 29, 1837, *ibid.*, 1836-1837, p. 97.

Of even greater uniqueness was the announced intention of the promoters of the enterprise to include a department of what would now be termed veterinary medicine. They stated:

In addition to the regular course of collegiate study, Rittenhouse College will contain a separate department for teaching not only theoretically but practically the following branches of useful knowledge, viz. 1st. The different *species*, and various *races* of the domestic animals. . . . 2nd. The *breaking, educating, training* and *fattening* certain domestic animals. . . . 3rd. *Commercial jurisprudence*, as regards domestic animals; including the uses to which can be applied, to the best advantage, their *flesh, hides, offals of their hides, tallow, hair, wool, horns, teeth, hoofs, entrails, blood and bones*. . . . 4th. The study of the *outward forms* of domestic animals. . . . 5th. The *internal structure* of domestic animals;—their *anatomy*; their *comparative anatomy*. . . . 6th. The various *foods* used for the nourishment of different domestic animals. . . . 7th. The various *medicines* required for domestic animals. . . . 8th. The most effectual methods of *preserving* domestic animals from *contracting diseases*. . . . 9th. The most approved plans for preserving domestic animals from *accidents* and *injuries*. . . . 10th. The most approved methods of *shoeing* certain domestic animals. . . .¹⁸

These plans were not destined to reach maturity. Either through public indifference or the inability of the trustees to raise funds to erect buildings, purchase a farm, and procure equipment, Rittenhouse College failed to emerge beyond the visionary dreams of its proponents. Thirteen years later, in May, 1850, the legislature chartered another institution by exactly the same name to be located in the borough of Bedford, Bedford County, for the purpose of educating "youth in the various branches of science and literature, the useful arts, agriculture, and the learned and foreign languages. . . ."¹⁹ This Rittenhouse College, too, never saw the light of day.

Other "secular" colleges and universities chartered with the power to confer degrees, either by the legislature or the courts of common pleas of the various counties were to suffer similar fates. Mount Pleasant Union College, Westmoreland County, having purchased the property of Mount Pleasant College, was incorporated by the legislature in 1858 as a capital stock company.²⁰ The college lasted no more than three years; for in 1861 its corporate existence was termi-

¹⁸ *Address of the President and Fellows of Rittenhouse College* (n.p., c. 1837), 3 ff., Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁹ Act of May 3, 1850, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1850*, p. 655.

²⁰ *Supra*, 144-45; Act of March 23, 1858, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1858*, p. 140.

nated, and its property was sold to the Westmoreland Classis of the German Reformed church under whose auspices Westmoreland College was founded.²¹

In accordance with the will of John M. Porter of Allegheny County, Porter University of Tarentum was to have been established in the borough of Tarentum, Allegheny County, for the purpose of imparting instruction in "the various branches, elementary and advanced, of science, literature, modern and ancient languages, and all the various branches of education. . . ." ²² The university was to have the power of conferring such degrees on "persons of either sex" as were usually granted by universities and colleges. So concerned was Mr. Porter with guaranteeing the preservation of the secular nature of his proposed institution that he directed the insertion of the following provision in the charter:

. . . the trustees, or their successors . . . shall have no power to put, or place, the said university under the patronage, control, direction, or in possession, or management, as the property, or for the use, in whole, or in part, of any religious denomination, or denominations, church, or churches, sect, or sects, as such, nor shall ever, in any way, be constituted, construed, or deemed, to be a denominational, or sectarian, institution, or be, at any time, or in any way, transferred, aliened, made the property, in fee, or otherwise, in whole, or in part, of any church, or churches, or religious denomination, or denominations, sect, or sects, as such, or be, in any way, whatever, placed in subjection, or subordination, thereto, as such.²³

Whether Mr. Porter was influenced in this design by the experience of extant colleges and universities in the western part of the State with whose church relationship or orientation he was in disagreement will never be known, since nothing remains of Porter University of Tarentum except the record of its incorporation.

Evidently, the securing of a charter from the legislature or the courts of common pleas required little more than a formal application. Madison College, unrelated to the institution of that name incorporated by act of the legislature in 1827, was chartered in 1868,²⁴ but failed to open its doors. This was equally true of Cherry Tree Male and Female College of Westmoreland County; of African College, a college for Negroes of both sexes, to be located anywhere in the Com-

²¹ Act of April 8, 1861, *ibid.*, 1861, p. 252; Act of March 12, 1862, *ibid.*, 1862, p. 119.

²² Act of April 3, 1866, *ibid.*, 1866, p. 423.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Act of April 8, 1868, *ibid.*, 1868, p. 768.

monwealth as the trustees might decree, which proclaimed its intention of offering "all the advantages," including the awarding of degrees, "of a first class university, embracing the arts and sciences, and the learned professions of law, theology and medicine";²⁵ of Saunders College, to be located in the county of Philadelphia; and of Tracy University of Erie, Pennsylvania, sponsored by the Board of Trade and the City Council and hailed by the press as "Most gratifying to all the lovers of learning and its refining and elevating influences."²⁶

Still other colleges and universities chartered with the power to confer degrees functioned as little more than normal, business, or secondary schools. Among these may be cited Harford University, Susquehanna County, erected from Franklin Academy (chartered by the legislature in 1836) and incorporated by the legislature in 1850 to consist of an "academical and medical college, and other departments appropriate to a university. . . ."²⁷ The institution appears to have been a proprietary school, controlled largely by one family. It was regarded by the county superintendents of common schools as a normal school and an academy.²⁸ The university ceased to exist in 1865 when the buildings and grounds were sold and converted into a State-supported school for soldiers' orphans.²⁹

In 1872 the press of New Castle, Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, announced the opening of New Castle College with classes organized in "Arithmetic, Algebra, Grammar, Physiology, etc.," and with predictions of success "beyond our previous expectations."³⁰ From the initial enrollment of 75 students in the year of its organization, the college increased its student body to 115 in 1876.³¹ Though it was chartered in 1875 without the specific power to confer degrees, it did, however, confer the Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees on two of its graduates in that year and the Bachelor of Commercial

²⁵ Act of April 14, 1868, *ibid.*, 1869, p. 1382; Act of February 19, 1869, *ibid.*, 220.

²⁶ Act of March 29, 1870, *ibid.*, 1870, p. 667; Erie County, Charter Book, I, 395 (February 22, 1876), Courthouse, Erie; *Erie Gazette*, February 15, 1876.

²⁷ Act of June 16, 1836, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1835-1836*, p. 799; Act of March 11, 1850, *ibid.*, 1853, p. 786.

²⁸ *Pennsylvania School Journal*, III (November, 1854), 141-42; Emily C. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1873), 529; *PRSCS*, 1858, p. 141; *ibid.*, 1862, pp. 268-69.

²⁹ W. C. Tilden, "Franklin Academy or Harford University," *PRSPI*, 1877, pp. 524-25.

³⁰ *New Castle Courant*, August 30, 1872.

³¹ S. W. Durant and P. A. Durant, *History of Lawrence County, 1770-1877* (Philadelphia, 1877), 142; *New Castle Courant*, January 14, 1876.

Science degree on one student in 1876.³² Its curriculum was that of a secondary school, embracing "courses in science, mathematics, languages, music, painting, drawing, waxwork, book-keeping, telegraphy, and science of teaching."³³ A unique feature of its charter was the stipulation that "Said Corporation Shall Continue and exist for the term of twenty years."³⁴ Nevertheless, even this brief span of life was to be denied the institution. Nine years after its inception, the United States Commissioner of Education tersely noted the school's demise with the single remark, "Closed."³⁵

The Normal School Act of 1857 stimulated the founding of many private ventures designed to train teachers for the common schools of the Commonwealth.³⁶ Curry University at Pittsburgh had its origins in one such individual enterprise. Initiated in 1863 as Curry's Normal Institute, the school, according to one of its admirers, "became one of the most prosperous institutions of the kind in the United States."³⁷ It was chartered in 1884 by the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County as Curry Institute and Union Business College, with the privilege of conferring degrees, and for the purpose of "encouraging and promoting the study of literature, ancient and modern languages, mathematics and the various arts and sciences including the following special departments to wit: A school of Oratory Elocution and Dramatic Culture. A school of Mechanical Drawing and Engineering. A school of Normal Penmanship and Drawing and a Conservatory of Music."³⁸ Four years later an amendment to the charter was secured changing the name to Curry University.³⁹ Despite the early promise of success, the institution declined toward the close of the nineteenth century until finally its property, franchises, and rights "were sold by the High Sheriff of Allegheny County at judicial sale on January 3, 1897."⁴⁰

³² Lawrence County, Agreement Book, IV, 72 (May 29, 1875), Courthouse, New Castle; *USRCE*, 1875, p. 788; *ibid.*, 1876, p. 768.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1875, p. 364.

³⁴ Lawrence County, Agreement Book, IV, 72 (May 29, 1875).

³⁵ *USRCE*, 1881, p. 607.

³⁶ *Infra*, 526 ff.

³⁷ Pittsburgh *Evening Chronicle*, June 17, 1863; Wilson (ed.), *Standard History of Pittsburgh*, 518.

³⁸ Allegheny County, Charter Book, No. 15, p. 188 (August 30, 1884), Courthouse, Pittsburgh.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 342 (August 1, 1888).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 23, p. 127.

Eight years after the closing of New Castle College, another effort was initiated to supply Lawrence County with an institution of higher education. Volant College at Volant, Pennsylvania, commenced the first term of its twenty-two years of life on April 8, 1889, with thirty-seven students in attendance.⁴¹ The following year the school was incorporated by the Court of Common Pleas of Lawrence County as the Volant Normal Academy with the power to grant diplomas and to confer the Bachelor of Science degree.⁴² Two years later the trustees applied for an amendment to their charter, declaring "That the work has prospered and it is proposed to enlarge the facilities of the school and extend its course of studies." Their petition was granted; and the name was changed to "Volant College," with the increased power "to grant and confer any and all degrees usually awarded by similar institutions in the United States of America."⁴³ Despite its reputed offering of a four-year scientific course, a five-year philosophical course, and a six-year classical course, leading respectively to the degrees of Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Philosophy, and Bachelor of Arts, and its having awarded such degrees to its graduates at least once in the course of its existence,⁴⁴ the institution was never recognized by the College and University Council as having attained college rank. Beginning with the report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1898 until its final appearance in the report for 1906, Volant College was listed among the secondary schools of the Commonwealth.⁴⁵ According to an account published by its alumni the college terminated its career in 1911.⁴⁶

Relatively few of the projected secular institutions of higher education survived the hazards of birth. Of all such colleges and universities incorporated by an agency of the State in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, only two, the University of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania State University, remain. The latter, although originally conceived and chartered as a school of agriculture under the title of "The Farmers' High School of Pennsylvania,"⁴⁷ early in its career adopted a liberal arts program leading to the Bachelor of

⁴¹ *USRCE, 1894-1895*, II, 2128; *PRSPI, 1898*, lxxx-lxxxi; A. A. Galbreath, *Volant College Memory Book* (Volant, Pa., 1933), 17.

⁴² Lawrence County, Agreement Book, VI, 354 (October 18, 1890).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 119 (October 17, 1892).

⁴⁴ Galbreath, *Volant College*, 20; *USRCE, 1902*, II, 1418.

⁴⁵ *PRSPI, 1898*, lxxx-lxxxi; *ibid.*, 1901, pp. 830-31; *ibid.*, 1902, pp. 804-805; *ibid.*, 1903, pp. 776-77; *ibid.*, 1904, p. 588; *ibid.*, 1905, p. 552; *ibid.*, 1906, p. 566.

⁴⁶ Galbreath, *Volant College*, 20.

⁴⁷ Act of February 22, 1855, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1855*, p. 46.

Arts degree. It is this aspect of its curriculum that is discussed here, consideration of its primary technical function being reserved for the chapter devoted to scientific and technical education.

By decree of the Court of Quarter Sessions of Centre County on May 1, 1862, the name of the Farmers' High School of Pennsylvania was changed to "The Agricultural College of Pennsylvania."⁴⁸ The decision to change the name was prompted partly by the anticipated enactment of the federal land-grant bill creating industrial colleges and by the trustees' feeling that "the school would have a far better claim to be designated as the land-grant college of Pennsylvania if it called itself a college rather than a high school."⁴⁹ Even prior to this charter amendment, the first catalogue of the high school spoke of the division of the "College Year"; and the catalogue of 1861 announced the offering of the degree of "Bachelor of Scientific and Practical Agriculture (B.S.A.)" upon the successful completion of the full course of study, the passing of an examination, and the writing of "an original dissertation, approved by the faculty, upon some scientific literary subject." Those graduates who continued to manifest an interest in agriculture or the industrial arts for three years or those who continued in residence for one year and devoted their time to "scientific investigation" were to receive the "Master of Scientific and Practical Agriculture (M.S.A.)."⁵⁰

Four years after the transition from high school to college, the trustees, "with the approbation of the Delegates representing the several Agricultural Societies of the Commonwealth," effected "a radical change in the system of education," reorganized the faculty to include a "Professor of Greek Language & Literature," and announced a "Course of Literature" leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree.⁵¹

The offering of this course of study did not simultaneously indicate the existence of a receptive body of students prepared to pursue it. As this was foreign in nature to the college's previously publicized

⁴⁸ Certified copy of court decree, Prothonotary's Office, Centre County Courthouse, Bellefonte.

⁴⁹ Wayland F. Dunaway, *History of Pennsylvania State College* ([State College, Pa.], 1946), 42.

⁵⁰ Farmers' High School, *Catalogue* (1859), 23; *ibid.* (1861), 19-20. These catalogues are stored in the President's Office, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

⁵¹ Agricultural College of Pennsylvania, *Minutes of Trustees*, I, September 5, November 1, 1866, pp. 79-80, 83 ff.; Agricultural College of Pennsylvania, *Catalogue* (1866), 12-14, 21. Both the minutes and the catalogues are stored in the President's Office, Pennsylvania State University.

aims and purposes, a corresponding change in public conception had to be effected before prospective students became aware of the institution's broadened scope. This was recognized by the trustees when they proposed to change the name of the institution because the old one "not only failed to express the breadth of purpose contemplated by the laws, under which the College received its endowment, but also misled many persons as to its real character."⁵² Consequently, there was an understandable hiatus between the initiation of the liberal arts program and the conferring of the first Bachelor of Arts degrees. In fact, they were awarded later in the same year that the name of the college was changed by court decree to Pennsylvania State College to three young men of the graduating class of 1874.⁵³

However, the propriety of a liberal arts program in a school whose primary function was regarded as the promotion of agricultural and technical studies was by no means fully accepted. The trustees exhibited ambivalence with respect to it, both in feeling and action. In 1881 a committee was appointed to investigate the reasons for the failure of the college "to measure up to the standard which its founders intended." One of the questions the committee was asked to consider was: "should the Classical Course of study be abolished?" Although the members of the committee found difficulty in giving a definitive answer to this question, they declared themselves satisfied that "it is not the primary object of this College to teach the Classics, and that it should not be a leading course of study. If by its continuance, it will in any manner encroach upon or interfere with complete success in any of the other departments, it should be abolished."⁵⁴ Evidently, the liberal arts courses were considered an impediment to the proper pursuit of the technical courses of study, for they disappeared from the curriculum after the close of the academic year 1882-1883.⁵⁵ With the reorganization of the college (1895-1896) into seven schools, among which was a "School of Language and Literature," the classical course was reintroduced; and the liberal arts program received a prominent

⁵² Pennsylvania State College, *Catalogue* (1873-74), 21.

⁵³ Centre County, Miscellaneous Book, E, 20 (January 26, 1874), Courthouse, Bellefonte; Pennsylvania State College, Minutes of Trustees, I, July 29, 1874, p. 189, President's Office, Pennsylvania State University.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, January 27, April 8, 1881, pp. 228, 231.

⁵⁵ Pennsylvania State College, *Catalogue* (1883-84), 16.

and permanent place in the curriculum with the establishment in 1908 of the "School of Liberal Arts."⁵⁶

The last existing secular institution of higher education to be established in Pennsylvania had its origins in the fourth decade of the twentieth century. Early in 1933 a survey made at the request of a group of Wyoming Valley educators and a committee of the Wilkes-Barre Rotary Club established the need for a junior college in Luzerne County.⁵⁷ Bucknell University, on the recommendation of its president, undertook to fill the educational void in the area by establishing a junior college to be known as the Bucknell Junior College. In the autumn of the same year, the institution was opened at Wilkes-Barre.⁵⁸ By 1938 a local board of trustees for the junior college had been selected with the understanding "that the Junior College would be built up as a home college, with local control, and as soon as a responsible local Board of Trustees felt themselves able to take over the operation of the Junior College, Bucknell would permit them to do so."⁵⁹

Within a few years after the creation of the junior college board of trustees, sentiment was voiced for expanding the two-year institution into a four-year liberal arts college with an independent charter.⁶⁰ A campaign was initiated in 1944 to enlist public support for the raising of the required \$500,000 endowment fund, and the Bucknell University trustees offered their co-operation in securing approval of the project from the State Council of Education.⁶¹ Their efforts were further stimulated by the rapid and successful progress of the Bishop of Scranton in erecting King's College at Wilkes-Barre.⁶² In 1947 the movement was brought to fruition. The trustees selected the name Wilkes College for their institution; the State Council of Education approved the proposed charter May 2, 1947; and the Court of Common Pleas of Luzerne County incorporated Wilkes College "for the higher education of men and women, with authority to grant

⁵⁶ Pennsylvania State College, Minutes of Trustees, II, January 3, 1896, p. 71; Pennsylvania State College, *Catalogue* (1895-96), 15-17, 121; *ibid.* (1908-09), 40.

⁵⁷ Bucknell Junior College, *Catalogue* (1936-37), 6, President's Office, Wilkes College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

⁵⁸ Bucknell University, Minutes of Trustees, IV, May 22, December 23, 1933.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, June 11, 1938; Bucknell Junior College, Minutes of Trustees, I, January 13, 1938.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, February 12, 1941; May 21, December 16, 1942.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, April 24, 1944; July 16, 1945; Bucknell University, Minutes of Trustees, IV, June 22, 1945.

⁶² Bucknell Junior College, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 24, 1946; *supra*, 230-31.

diplomas and to confer the following degrees: (a) Bachelor of Arts, (b) Bachelor of Science, (c) Such other degrees as may be approved and authorized from time to time by the duly constituted authorities."⁶³

The history of higher, secular education in Pennsylvania has been strewn with the obscure relics of abortive and forgotten institutions. Why such failures should occur in an environment presumably favorable to their existence is an interesting question. The reasons appear to be twofold. First, the large multiplicity of colleges seeking a limited patronage reduced the chances for survival of each new venture dependent upon private, individual, and unorganized support to fan the feeble spark of beginning life. As early as 1832 "A Traveller" observed in a letter to the press that "Too many [colleges] have been chartered by the Legislature, and none of them endowed as they ought to be."⁶⁴ Thomas Burrowes as Superintendent of Common Schools declared in his report to the legislature of 1837, "The chief defect of our collegiate system . . . is the too great number of the institutions."⁶⁵ This complaint was voiced throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by succeeding Superintendents of Public Instruction, by the United States Commissioner of Education, and by educators concerned with elevating qualitatively the nature of higher educational offerings.⁶⁶

A second and equally compelling factor was the almost insuperable competition offered by fecund and relatively well-organized religious groups in founding large numbers of colleges and universities designed to realize particular religious objectives. This was true of the country at large, as well as of Pennsylvania.⁶⁷ So great was the influence and so powerful was the dominance of organized religion over higher education that F. A. P. Barnard was moved to observe in 1855:

⁶³ Bucknell Junior College, Minutes of Trustees, I, May 16, 1947; *PRSPI*, 1946-1948, p. 10; Luzerne County, Charter Book, XIV, 344; Courthouse, Wilkes-Barre.

⁶⁴ *Hazard's Register*, IX (April 21, 1832), 254.

⁶⁵ Pennsylvania, *House Journal*, 1836-1837, II, 556.

⁶⁶ Bishop Alonzo Potter, "Consolidation and Other Modifications of American Colleges," *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, I, (May, 1856), 471-72; *PRSCS*, 1864, pp. 35-36; *ibid.*, 1865, pp. 19-20; James P. Wickersham, "No More Colleges," *Pennsylvania School Journal*, XX (June, 1872), 389; *USRCE*, 1873, lx-lxi; M. B. Anderson, *Voluntaryism in Higher Education* (New York, 1877), 14-15; *PRSPI*, 1924-1926, p. 16; Bucknell Junior College, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 14, 1945; Wickersham, *History of Education*, 388-89; Tewksbury, *Founding of American Colleges*, 7, 79.

⁶⁷ C. F. Himes, *A Sketch of Dickinson College* (Harrisburg, 1879), 56; Tewksbury, *Founding of American Colleges*, 79.

Facts which have fallen under my immediate observation satisfy me, that this religious element, mingling itself with our system of collegiate education, is powerful enough to interpose a difficulty, almost insurmountable, in the way of all those wise and liberal projects by which it has been hoped to secure a system of perfectly free education, of the highest order, open to all at the expense of the State.⁶⁸

It is not surprising, therefore, that only one extant, secular college (Wilkes College) should thus far have been founded in the twentieth century; and of all those initiated in the nineteenth century, again only one survived (Pennsylvania State University), and this largely because its basic curriculum offerings were quite different from those of existing colleges and because from the outset it enjoyed a good measure of the support and beneficence of the State.

2. SECULARIZING CHURCH-RELATED INSTITUTIONS

The process of secularization, a movement by no means uniform or necessarily culminating in the separation of all institutions from the churches or church groups with which they were originally affiliated, becomes particularly apparent during the period of rapid industrialization and technological advance following the Civil War. This process manifested itself primarily in the curriculum, in the modification of the traditional required classical course of study, and in the sometimes hesitant and frequently reluctant introduction of new scientific, technical, and elective studies to meet the demands of a changing society. It was not without conflict; it reflected the struggle between those who wished to maintain clerical hegemony over the life and curriculum of higher education and those who desired to move in the direction of the evolving social current. A clear and candid formulation of the problem was presented to the board of trustees of Dickinson College by the college president in 1868. He said:

The rapid and growing extension of our modern culture on the side of physical Sciences and the manifest wants of our American practical life, based as they are on scientific studies, make it a matter of necessity for us that more time on the part of the students be given to the studies in physical science. . . .

Also the patronizing Conferences [of the Methodist Episcopal Church] are looking to us earnestly, expectantly and with good reasons for so looking that we shall give the young men having the ministry in view better and larger facilities for their prepara-

⁶⁸ F. A. P. Barnard, "On Improvements Practicable in American Colleges," *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, I (January, 1856), 176.

tion for their peculiar work than we have been able to give them. . . .

No college can long maintain its hold in the feelings and the interests of the people that does not fall away somewhat from the old classical curriculum and fall in with the drift of modern culture and modern needs toward the Scientific & Literary Studies.⁶⁹

In conformity with these recommendations, the trustees resolved "That the elective system of studies shall hereafter commence at the termination of the Freshman year." A year later they voted to extend "the favor and influence of the college . . . impartially to all who are or may be engaged in preparing young men for a collegiate course of study."⁷⁰

The intensity of the problem and the sharpness of the conflict between the ecclesiastical and secular forces were portrayed even more vividly at Franklin and Marshall College in the unwilling, yet inexorable, movement of the trustees toward the adoption of the new studies. Although the board had looked with favor on the faculty proposal of 1866 "that steps be taken to ensure the establishment at an early day of a thorough scientific course of instruction, similiar to that provided in other Colleges . . . independent of the classical course,"⁷¹ it retreated from this position in 1871 with the following declaration of policy:

The College was created originally in the services of classical and liberal learning; and it aims to be true still to this object. A wide, popular demand, it is known, prevails at this time for education in more practical forms; and it has become the fashion largely, of late, to shape collegiate training in conformity with it, by combining, in various ways, what are termed scientific, professional, or technic studies, with liberal studies, properly so called. Such business discipline is of course highly important in its place; and it is well, perhaps, that different Colleges, which have it in their power to do so, are testing the question how far it can be successfully joined with culture in the other view. But no experiment of this sort is felt to be the mission of Franklin and Marshall College; and in no such character, therefore, does it bespeak public attention or favor.

The ambition of the Institution is to be a College, in the old American sense of the term. What that means, is shown by its course of studies. This is one and uniform; and it has for its

⁶⁹ Dickinson College, Minutes of Trustees, V, June 23, 1868, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, June 23, 1868, pp. 17-18; June 23, 1869, p. 22.

⁷¹ Franklin and Marshall College, Minutes of Trustees, I, May 24, 1866, pp. 285-86.

ruling object throughout, mental culture for its own sake.

There are, therefore, no optional courses of study in Franklin and Marshall College, in which the learner is allowed to choose for himself what he shall learn.⁷²

Despite this adamant stand, the college eventually succumbed to the demands of social need. In 1889 special classes were organized "in the following *optional* studies" in histology, chemistry, practical astronomy, and French, at the same time that the catalogue was still maintaining that "True to its idea, Franklin and Marshall College has no optional courses of study in which the learner is allowed to choose for himself what he shall learn."⁷³ The yielding was more noticeable in 1895 with the introduction of elective studies in the senior year; and it was well on the road to completion in 1900 with the adoption of a new scientific course of study leading to the Bachelor of Philosophy degree, in which French or German was substituted for the Greek of the classical course and additional courses in science and mathematics were included.⁷⁴

There were institutions whose ties to the church were rather tenuous and whose break with orthodoxy, consequently, was achieved with a minimum of conflict. In the main, however, the pattern exhibited by Dickinson and by Franklin and Marshall, modified by the anomalies of individual growth and history, was followed by most church-related institutions chartered before the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Thus Washington and Jefferson College adopted a "somewhat indefinite" and clearly subordinate program without affecting "the prescribed studies of the Academical curriculum."⁷⁵ This was done despite the charter mandate of 1865 providing for the establishment of a scientific department devoted to instruction in "modern foreign languages . . . natural sciences, belles lettres, mathematics, civil and military engineering and the mechanic arts, so as to qualify students therein for the various business avocations of life. . . ." The graduates of this department were to receive "the degree of S. B. . . . although they may not have pursued such a course of study in the college, as to entitle them to any other degree."⁷⁶ In fact, the following year the faculty increased the religious content of the liberal arts course by

⁷² Franklin and Marshall College, *Catalogue* (1870-71), 11.

⁷³ *Ibid.* (1888-89), 16, 18.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* (1894-95), 23-30; *ibid.* (1899-1900), 30-33.

⁷⁵ Washington and Jefferson College, *Minutes of Trustees*, I, June 21, 1865, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁶ Act of March 4, 1865, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1865*, p. 265.

introducing compulsory Bible studies and by recognizing "the Sacred Scriptures . . . as a text book in this Institution."⁷⁷

It was not until 1871, with the endowment of a scientific professorship by a patron and former graduate of the college, Dr. Francis J. Le Moyne, that the new studies begin to take their place in the regular college curriculum on a relatively equal basis with those hitherto regarded as properly belonging to a collegiate program. Dr. Le Moyne expressed his views concerning higher education and set specific conditions for the receipt of the endowment in his letter to the trustees. He said:

I now formally propose, if the terms and conditions attached meet your concurrence, to endow a Professorship of Agriculture and Correlative branches of science . . . by the donation to the College of Twenty-Thousand Dollars. . . .

The College shall make no distinction whatever, on account of *race, color* or religious views, in the selection or admission of Trustees, teachers or pupils. . . .

I have long believed that the Dead Languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew) have occupied in College a much larger proportion of the time and attention of both teachers and pupils than their relative importance could demand, I desire that no more time or labor of teachers or pupils be devoted to instruction in and acquisition of these than is devoted to the average of other Professors and other branches of study to which a full Professor is assigned—and that no pupil shall be required to include the study of any or all of these Languages in his College courses. But that a diploma of the highest grade will be given for the acquisition of such number of the other branches taught, (without including these languages) as may be decided by general rules of the College.⁷⁸

Lafayette College experienced a somewhat similar evolution. After the institution became a synodical college (1849) under the control of the Philadelphia Synod of the Presbyterian church, its curriculum was revised to give more prominence to religious subjects.⁷⁹ In 1864 the faculty reported to the trustees that the course in biblical instruction had been enlarged.⁸⁰ The catalogue for 1864-1865 offered very few courses in the sciences, while at the same time it declared that

⁷⁷ Washington and Jefferson College, Minutes of Faculty, I, December 15, 1866.

⁷⁸ Washington and Jefferson College, Minutes of Trustees, June 26, 1871, pp. 174-75.

⁷⁹ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, I, October 30, 1849, pp. 203-205; Lafayette College, *Catalogue* (1851), 5-6.

⁸⁰ Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, II, July 25, 1864, p. 138.

"It is designed to make the Bible the central object of study in the whole college course."⁸¹

A radical change occurred in 1866 when the trustees accepted the offer of \$100,000 from Ario Pardee of Hazleton, Pennsylvania, "to found a scientific course in the College." In July, 1867, the original donation was increased to \$200,000 on condition that a like sum be contributed by other friends of the college. Four years later, Mr. Pardee capped his former beneficence by a gift of \$200,000 "to erect a building for the scientific course."⁸²

Institutions like Pennsylvania College (Gettysburg College), closely related to the church but lacking the good fortune to number among its patrons those who were either willing or able to contribute large sums for the initiation of new curricula, were slow to respond to the demands of a changing society. Although a gift of \$20,000 was received in 1865 to endow a chair in the "Department of Natural Sciences" and additions were made to the scientific equipment, the curriculum scarcely reflected the promise inherent in the newly acquired wealth.⁸³ In 1875 the Bachelor of Science degree was first offered to students taking "a special scientific course." But such students were considered "irregular," and the course pursued, for which such a degree was conferred in 1882, was a "Special Course in Chemistry."⁸⁴

The college's student publication announced in 1877 that "A regular course of study, to be pursued by candidates for the B.Sc. degree, will be recommended by the Faculty to the Board of Trustees at their meeting in June. It is agreed that the course should be four years and of higher grade than that laid down by many colleges. So may it be."⁸⁵ Earlier in the same year the magazine declared: "Pennsylvania College has educated nearly five hundred ministers of the gospel. Compared with the whole number of graduates, we believe this a better record than any other College can show."⁸⁶ Although the figure of 500 is

⁸¹ Lafayette College, *Catalogue* (1864-65), 16-17.

⁸² Lafayette College, Minutes of Trustees, II, March 28, 1866, pp. 163-65; September 27, 1871, pp. 251-52; Lafayette College, *Catalogue* (1865-66), 13 ff.; *ibid.* (1868-69), 13.

⁸³ Pennsylvania College, Minutes of Trustees, II, April 19, 1865, p. 67; Pennsylvania College, *Catalogue* (1865-66), 21-22. Compare *ibid.* (1863-64), 18, and *ibid.* (1867-68), 22-24.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* (1874-75), 20; *ibid.* (1878-79), 9; Pennsylvania College, Minutes of Trustees, II, June 26, 1882, p. 249; Pennsylvania College, *Catalogue* (1878-79), 10.

⁸⁵ *Pennsylvania College Monthly*, I (May, 1877), 117.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, I (February, 1877), 28.

clearly an inflated one, since the total number of graduates from Pennsylvania College up to and including the year 1866 was 572,⁸⁷ it nevertheless offers a partial explanation for the lack of haste exhibited by the trustees in adopting a "regular" scientific course of study. At their annual meeting in 1877 they resolved to postpone "consideration of the proposed scientific course . . . until the next meeting of the Board."⁸⁸ Indeed, for the next ten years the trustees either postponed or ignored the consideration of the question.⁸⁹ It was apparently resolved in 1887, for the catalogue announced the specific requirements for admission and outlined a four-year graded curriculum leading to the Bachelor of Science degree.⁹⁰ Five years later the elective system was introduced in the junior and senior year for both the classical and scientific courses.⁹¹

It is probable but not demonstrable, since the evidence is insufficient and inconclusive, that the constitutional provision of 1873 prohibiting State appropriations to sectarian institutions and the establishment of such funds as the Carnegie Foundation (1905) which excluded professors of sectarian institutions from the benefits of its pension system influenced the secularizing process.⁹² In the former case, the trustees of the Western University of Pennsylvania (University of Pittsburgh), whose ties with the Presbyterian church had been insubstantial, resolved (1870) "That it is the deliberate sense of this Board that the Western University of Pa. is now what it always has been strictly undenominational in its Character and that any representation to the contrary is unauthorized by the Trustees and unwarranted by the facts."⁹³ Evidently the legislature agreed with this characterization, for in 1895 it appropriated \$50,000 to the university for the establishment of a school of mines.⁹⁴ Subsequently, the University of Pittsburgh became a regular recipient of State funds.⁹⁵

Lehigh University, whose ties with the Protestant Episcopal church had been openly proclaimed, when faced with the necessity of ap-

⁸⁷ Pennsylvania College, *Catalogue* (1878-79), 28-37.

⁸⁸ Pennsylvania College, *Minutes of Trustees*, II, June 27, 1877, p. 224.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1878, p. 231; June 25, 1879, p. 236; June 23, 1880, p. 240 ff.

⁹⁰ Pennsylvania College, *Catalogue* (1886-87), 15, 19, 25-26.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* (1891-92), 18-20.

⁹² Pennsylvania Constitution of 1873, Article III, Section 18; Robert M. Lester, *Forty Years of Carnegie Giving* (New York, 1941), 45-50.

⁹³ Western University of Pennsylvania, *Minutes of Trustees*, I, September 28, 1870, p. 377.

⁹⁴ Act of July 5, 1895, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1895*, p. 619.

⁹⁵ *PRSPI, 1938-1940*, p. 18.

pealing for State aid to ameliorate a critical financial situation, not only denied any current relationship to the church but declared that "Lehigh University is not and never has been under denominational or sectarian control."⁹⁶ Apparently this pronouncement had the desired effect, for the legislature granted Lehigh University (1897) \$150,000 for maintenance and general expenses.⁹⁷ Speculation as to whether this legislative appropriation was constitutional would be relatively fruitless, since there is no evidence that the act was challenged in a court of law, nor is there any record of further State aid to Lehigh University.

One further example of the possible hastening of the movement towards secularization by the prospect of assistance from the Commonwealth may be cited. Temple University, founded and organized by the pastor and members of the Grace Baptist Church,⁹⁸ early exhibited signs of dissociating itself from its religiously inspired origins. In 1903 the trustees considered petitioning the court for a charter amendment "by striking out the words 'The Temple College of Philadelphia' and inserting in lieu thereof the words The Philadelphia College of Liberal Arts, Sciences and Industries and University for the Employed."⁹⁹ Although this contemplated title was later discarded by the trustees, the secularizing process was probably completed by the time the college was transformed into a university in 1907.¹⁰⁰ At any rate the State College and University Council so considered it; for in recognizing the university as worthy of taking its place among the colleges and universities of the State, the council characterized the institution as "non-sectarian."¹⁰¹ Consequently, when the university memorialized the legislature for an appropriation of \$850,000 in 1910 affirming that "Temple University is non-sectarian and there has never been a denominational requirement either for membership on its Board of Trustees or its faculties. No denomination possesses even a large minority in either body," the statement, so far as the records indicate, was not challenged. And the following year the General Assembly granted Temple University \$35,000 for the maintenance of Garretson Hospital and completion of its buildings; and

⁹⁶ *Supra*, 189-90; Cornelius, *Lehigh University*, 23.

⁹⁷ Act of July 26, 1897, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1897*, p. 425.

⁹⁸ *Supra*, 204-206.

⁹⁹ Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, II, May 9, 1903, p. 283.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, June 8, 1903, p. 292; *supra*, 209.

¹⁰¹ College and University Council, "Biennial Report on Higher Education in Pennsylvania," *PRSPI*, 1908, pp. 542-43.

\$110,000 to the university for similar purposes; and \$60,000 for maintaining its Samaritan Hospital.¹⁰² Currently Temple University is included among those institutions of higher education which regularly receive appropriations from the State.¹⁰³

The influence exerted by such funds as the Carnegie Foundation in loosening the ties between college and church is illustrated by the action taken by Swarthmore College to enable its professors to become eligible for the retirement benefits under the Carnegie Retiring Allowance Fund. The committee appointed to consider the matter reported (1908) that they could "find no legal difficulty in removing the sectarian feature from the Charter and that when done they believe the College will have been brought within the limits of the operations of the Carnegie Foundation. . . ." Whereupon the board adopted a resolution to amend the charter of Swarthmore College, "eliminating the sectarian requirements as to membership in the Board of Managers." The amendment was secured from the Court of Common Pleas of Delaware County a few months later.¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, Pennsylvania College (Gettysburg College) resisted the temptation to amend the provision in its charter which required that not less than three-fourths of the members of the board of trustees should always be members of the Lutheran church.¹⁰⁵ In 1915 the trustees adopted the following report and recommendation of a committee to study the eligibility requirements of the Carnegie Foundation:

It is true that during the sixty or more years of the history of the College prior to the introduction of this amendment the College was just as loyal to the Lutheran Church as it has been since, and it would probably have so remained without the amendment, and we would no doubt still so remain, even if the amendment were now repealed. It is true also that the repeal of this amendment might render our professors eligible for pensions from the Carnegie Foundation on their retirement from active work, and for this we would all be glad. At the same time your Committee are of the opinion that it would be

¹⁰² Act of June 13, 1911, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1911*, p. 170; Act of June 13, 1911, *ibid.*, 203; Act of June 13, 1911, *ibid.*, 51.

¹⁰³ *PRSPI, 1938-1940*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁴ Swarthmore College, Minutes of Managers, IV, 11th Month 6, 1908, pp. 171-72; Delaware County, Charter Book, C, 387 (January 23, 1909), Courthouse, Media.

¹⁰⁵ Adams County, Charter Book, UU, 359 (May 21, 1894), Courthouse, Gettysburg.

most unwise to run the risk of disturbing the confidence of the Church in the denominational standing or loyalty of the College by now seeking a repeal of said amendment.¹⁰⁶

Whatever influences were most influential in stimulating the movement towards secularization, the fact remains that by the mid-point of the twentieth century a number of institutions had ostensibly severed the bonds uniting them with the churches largely responsible for their origins. Among those which now consider themselves private corporations independent of any church and are so listed by the United States Office of Education are Allegheny College, Dickinson College, Grove City College, Lehigh University, Lincoln University, Temple University, the University of Pittsburgh, Ursinus College, and Washington and Jefferson College.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Pennsylvania College, Minutes of Trustees, III, June 8, 1915, pp. 250-51.

¹⁰⁷ United States, *Education Directory, 1948-1949*, Part 3, *Higher Education* (Washington, 1948), 111-16.

PART III

Scientific and Technical Education

CHAPTER XVII

Theological Education

1. FOUNDING THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES

The founding of theological seminaries by the various denominational interests parallels, by and large, their efforts in the establishment of colleges and universities. Those whose heritage demanded an educated ministry were early in taking steps to provide institutions for their training. Contrariwise, religious groups who regarded a trained clergy with disfavor and suspicion were either late in making provision for their special instruction, or failed to do so altogether. The Quakers, counted among the latter group, were so opposed to a "hireling priesthood"¹ that they moved with slow and cautious steps in erecting a liberal arts college, and they rejected the idea of establishing a theological seminary. Nor did their attitude towards theological training change with the passing years. Convinced of the propriety of appointing a "Professor of Bible languages and Ecclesiastical History" in 1886, the managers of Haverford College deliberately circumscribed the functions of the new chair with the following declaration of principle: ". . . we wish distinctly to avoid the establishment of anything that now or hereafter might be used as a special course for the training or education of Ministers, or to encourage anything that might tend to the creation of any ministerial class or order. . . ."² Large gifts of \$63,000 in 1900 and \$50,000 in 1907, to make provision for the regular study of the Bible and to increase the religious instruction at the college, again caused the managers to express concern "that we should not establish what might become known as a theological department, but should conduct the proposed work along conservative lines."³

¹ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 50.

² Haverford College, Minutes of Managers, IV, 3 mo. 27, 1886, pp. 127-29, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, 10 mo. 26, 1900, pp. 18-22; 11 mo. 15, 1907, pp. 345-46; 1 mo. 17, 1908, pp. 347-48.

Similar considerations delayed or dissuaded the German sectarians⁴ from inaugurating separate and systematic facilities for ecclesiastical education. On the other hand, the Presbyterians, Lutherans, German Reformed, Catholics, Episcopalians, and Unitarians⁵ did not suffer from such inhibitions and erected theological seminaries as rapidly as their needs dictated and their means permitted; while the Methodists and the Baptists established theological schools in other states. The Presbyterians will first be considered here.

Presbyterian. Reference has already been made to Presbyterian efforts in the Colonial period to provide theological training in the Log College, in Alison's synodical academy, and in the various schools conducted by devoted ministers. These individual efforts did not cease with the cessation of hostilities with England. Charles Nisbet, for example, at Dickinson College, was induced by eight or nine of his interested graduates to conduct a regular course of theological lectures which he began October 31, 1788, and concluded January 5, 1791.⁶ But such sporadic and occasional ecclesiastical instruction, whether provided by individuals or by single chairs established at church-related colleges could scarcely suffice to meet Presbyterian requirements for a trained clergy. Consequently, the church and its various denominational offshoots strove continually to found separate theological seminaries under the control of their ruling bodies.

The earliest of these organized undertakings was initiated by the Associate Presbyterian church at a meeting of its presbytery held in Philadelphia April 21, 1794. At that meeting, the minutes state: "It was apprehended that agreeable to the recommendation of the Presbytery Mr. Anderson had several young men studying under his direction with a view to the ministry in connexion with the presbytery." But they were operating under such straitened circumstances, lacking books and some even the necessities of life, that the presbytery resolved to make a collection "in all our Congregations before next meeting to assist in defraying Expences in this good under taking."⁷ Mr. Anderson established the seminary at Service Creek, Beaver County, Pennsylvania, and erected a two-story log building near his house for the accom-

⁴ Wickersham, *History of Education*, 120-21, 162-63; Tewksbury, *Founding of American Colleges*, 90, 111; *supra*, 142-44.

⁵ Tewksbury, *Founding of American Colleges*, 89.

⁶ Miller, *Nisbet*, 156-57.

⁷ Associate Presbyterian Church, Minutes of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, April 21, 1794, p. 233, Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary Library, Pittsburgh.

modation of the students and as a depository for a library of about eight hundred volumes.⁸ This, according to the seminary catalogue, represents the "*First Protestant Theological Seminary ever founded on the Western Continent.*"⁹

In 1821 the seminary was removed to Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, and an act was secured from the legislature (1833) establishing a corporation "to have continuance for twenty years, by the name, style, and title of 'The Trustees of the Theological Seminary at Canonsburg, belonging to the Synod of the Associate Presbyterian Church, of North America.'" ¹⁰ This charter was later renewed in 1853 granting the trustees the right of perpetual succession.¹¹ Shortly afterwards (1855) the seminary was moved to Xenia, Ohio.¹² Three-quarters of a century later (1930), Xenia Seminary returned to the state of its birth to be united with the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary of the United Presbyterian Church.¹³

The partner in this union, the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, took its first step towards life from a resolution adopted in 1825 by the Associate Reformed Synod of the West. At that time the synod was asked to consider a plan which would unite its efforts with those of the trustees of the Western University of Pennsylvania (University of Pittsburgh), who were contemplating the establishment of "a Theological department, in which the Rev. Dr. Black . . . and the Rev. Dr. Bruce . . . are to be appointed professors, the former of church history . . . the latter of the Hebrew and Greek languages, and Biblical Criticism."¹⁴

As an alternative to this possibility the synod decided to establish its own seminary at Pittsburgh. It elected the Reverend Joseph Kerr as professor of didactic and polemic theology and advised its prospective theological students "to attend during the session to the Lectures of Drs. Black & Bruce in the Western University of Pennsylvania in

⁸ Associate Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1852), 31, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; James B. Scouller, *A Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, 1751-1887*, 2d ed. (Pittsburgh, 1887), 703; John McNaugher, *The History of Theological Education in the United Presbyterian Church and Its Ancestries* (Pittsburgh, 1931), 8 ff.

⁹ Associate Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1852), 31.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 32; Act of April 8, 1833, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1832-1833*, p. 218.

¹¹ Act of April 13, 1853, *ibid.*, 1853, p. 388.

¹² *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 579; McNaugher, *United Presbyterian Church*, 19.

¹³ Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Minutes of Faculty, January 3, 1930, p. 41, Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary Library, Pittsburgh.

¹⁴ Associate Reformed Church, Minutes of the Associate Reformed Synod of the West, May 26, 1825, Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary Library.

the event of their appointment to fill the departments contemplated." At the same time, the synod fixed the salary of the professor, set the term of study at four months each year, and appointed a committee "to examine at the close of every session what progress the Students have made in their studies."¹⁵ A few years later a charter was obtained from the legislature incorporating "The Theological Seminary of the Associate Reformed Synod of the West."¹⁶

By the middle of the nineteenth century a movement to amalgamate the Associate and Associate Reformed Presbyterian churches of North America achieved consummation in the formation (1858) of the United Presbyterian Church of North America.¹⁷ The difficulties arising from the resulting complex system of seminary control were resolved ten years later by the obtaining of a new charter from the legislature incorporating "The Board of Trustees of the Allegheny Theological Seminary of the United Presbyterian Church of North America."¹⁸ In 1914, to conform with the actual location of the seminary, the name was again changed to "The Pittsburgh Theological Seminary of the United Presbyterian Church of North America"; and, after its union in 1930 with the Xenia Seminary in Ohio, the institution assumed the name which it bears at present, "The Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary of the United Presbyterian Church of North America."¹⁹

Another denomination of Presbyterians, the Reformed Presbyterian church, contemplating the erection of an institution as a training school for its future clergy, appointed a committee in 1807 "to inquire whether it be eligible for this church to make exertions for the establishment of a seminary for the education of youth for the ministry; and if eligible, to report to the court an outline of a plan of theological instruction."²⁰ The following year the committee reported that "the church was loudly called upon immediately to establish such an institution," and presented a plan for the proposed seminary, which was adopted after the inclusion of several amendments. At the same time

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Act of January 21, 1828, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1827-1828*, p. 29.

¹⁷ Associate Presbyterian Church, "Minutes of Associate Synod of North America . . ." (May 26, 1858), in *The Evangelical Repository*, XVII, No. 2 (July, 1858), 77-78.

¹⁸ Act of April 13, 1868, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1868*, p. 1035.

¹⁹ Allegheny County, Charter Book, XLVIII, 340 (February 5, 1914); LXIII, 322 (August 6, 1930), Courthouse, Pittsburgh.

²⁰ Reformed Presbyterian Church, "Minutes of Presbytery, October 8, 1807," *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church*, 4. Located in Library of Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh. Since the title page is missing, the author, date, place of publication, and publisher are unknown.

the Reverend Samuel B. Wylie was appointed professor of theology.²¹ In 1809 a board of superintendents was directed "to meet the Professor in Philadelphia, on the 4th Tuesday of May, 1810, for the purpose of organizing the Theological Seminary"; and in 1811 its first graduate was recommended to the synod for license and "duly certified, as possessing good talents, an amiable disposition, and undoubted piety; as having paid strict attention to the proper literature of the institution; and as of solid and respectable attainments."²²

The seminary at Philadelphia, however, was not destined for a long life. It maintained a "sickly existence" until 1817, when, by the resignation of the Reverend Mr. Wylie, it expired.²³ Efforts were made at resuscitation from time to time, at New Alexandria in 1836, at Allegheny in 1840, and in Ohio in 1845; but it was not until 1856, when the seminary was reorganized at Allegheny (now included in Pittsburgh), that the institution began a continuous existence.²⁴ A charter was obtained from the State legislature in 1856 incorporating "the Trustees of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America"; but, unlike its Presbyterian contemporaries, the seminary was never empowered to confer degrees in theology because of its inability to meet the legislative requirements for degree-granting institutions.²⁵

For the large body of Presbyterians organized in the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, the main problem in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was to make provision for the training of clerical candidates along the western frontier. This question had already engaged the attention of the Pittsburgh Synod in 1821 when it was informed "that a number of promising young men, who are setting their faces towards the Gospel Ministry, are not in circumstances to attend the theological seminary at Princeton." As a pre-

²¹ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1808, p. 9.

²² *Ibid.*, May 24, 1809, p. 38; David Steele, "Theological Seminary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America—Philadelphia," in College and University Council, "Biennial Report on Higher Education in Pennsylvania," *PRSPI*, 1900, p. 131 ff.; Reformed Presbyterian Church, "Minutes of Synod, May 16, 1811," *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church*, 48.

²³ Thomas Sproull, "Reformed Presbyterian Church in America," *Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter*, XIV (April, 1876), 109.

²⁴ W. M. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* (Baltimore, 1888), 754; D. B. Willson, "Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary—Allegheny," in College and University Council, "Biennial Report on Higher Education," *PRSPI*, 1900, p. 118.

²⁵ Act of April 19, 1856, Pennsylvania, *Laws*, 1856, p. 552; interview with President R. J. G. McKnight, August 26, 1950.

liminary step to the solution of the problem, the synod resolved to aid such students by establishing a library to be "located at present in the edifice of Jefferson College, Canonsburgh, and placed under the care of the Rev. John M'Millan, D.D., Professor of Theology in that Seminary."²⁶ Recognizing the inadequacy of this measure, the synod at its next meeting appointed a committee "to enquire into the expedience of establishing a Theological Seminary at some convenient place in the Western country, in conjunction with the Synods of Ohio and Kentucky, and to report as early as practicable." Evidently, no satisfactory agreement could be reached with the Synods of Ohio and Kentucky, for the following year the committee was "discharged from any further attention to the subject."²⁷

It required the large resources of the General Assembly of the church to give substance to the project. Taking cognizance of "the numerous and rapidly increasing population of that part of the United States and their territories, situated in the great valley of the Mississippi; and believing that the interests of the Presbyterian Church imperiously require it, and that the Redeemer's kingdom will be thereby promoted," the General Assembly at its meeting in 1825 resolved "that it is expedient forthwith to establish a Theological Seminary in the West, under the supervision of the General Assembly." Moving rapidly, the assembly adopted a plan two days later, which envisioned the establishment of an institution to be known as the "Western Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States." Its design was to follow exactly that of the theological seminary at Princeton, incorporating only those modifications "which are indispensably necessary to accommodate it to the local situation and circumstances." A board of directors was elected and instructed to meet "on the 3d Friday of July next"; commissioners were appointed to select a site; agents were to be chosen to solicit donations; and a principle adopted, from which there were to be no deviations, that funds collected for either one of the two seminaries (Princeton or Western) were never to be diverted or even loaned for the use of the other.²⁸

The question of the location of the seminary aroused public interest and was a source of prolonged debate in the assemblies of 1826 and

²⁶ Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., *Records of the Synod of Pittsburgh from Its First Organization, September 29, 1802, to October, 1832 Inclusive* (Pittsburgh, 1852), minutes of October 5, 1821, p. 178.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, October 2, 1822, p. 188; October 8, 1823, p. 205.

²⁸ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church . . . from A.D. 1821 to A.D. 1835 Inclusive* (Philadelphia, n. d.), May 25, 27, 1825, pp. 144, 148-49.

1827.²⁹ No doubt the final decision reached in May, 1827, to establish the seminary at Allegheny (now Pittsburgh) was influenced by a gift of "18 acres and 37 perches of land" to the proposed seminary by the residents of Allegheny, provided the institution be located there, a proposal which had been legalized by an act of the legislature passed a month earlier.³⁰

Measures were taken the following year to erect suitable buildings, and classes were formally initiated with four students in attendance on November 10, 1828.³¹ From this time on the seminary enjoyed uninterrupted existence, although occasional and serious financial difficulties caused concern as to its future life.³² In 1844 the institution was chartered by the legislature and provided with a board of trustees whose main function was the care of the general finances of the seminary.³³ With the establishment of this new body, a division of labor was effected within the governing organs responsible for the school's progress. The board of directors now confined its attention to problems of curriculum and instructional staff, and the board of trustees undertook the task of maintaining the seminary in financial health.³⁴

Concern for the theological as well as the scientific and classical education "of colored youth of the male sex," led to the founding of Ashmun Institute, now Lincoln University.³⁵ The reasons for establishing a separate ecclesiastical department despite the existence of at least two other Presbyterian theological seminaries, were twofold: first, the trustees wished to provide ecclesiastical instruction for

²⁹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, August 12, 1825; Allen D. Campbell, "The Founding and Early History of the Western Theological Seminary," *Bulletin of the Western Theological Seminary* (n.d.), 24, Library, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh; *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*, May 23, 24, 1826, pp. 169-71; May 25, 1827, p. 209.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, May 25, 1827, p. 209; Act of April 17, 1827, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1826-1827*, p. 496.

³¹ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*, May 22, 1828, p. 235; *Hazard's Register*, II (November 8, 1828), 272; Western Theological Seminary, Minutes of Faculty, November 10, 1828, p. 1; Campbell, "Western Theological Seminary," 28. The minutes of the faculty from November 10, 1828, to May 5, 1830, are in the Library, Western Theological Seminary.

³² Western Theological Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, July 7, August 18, 1846, pp. 23, 24; Campbell, "Western Theological Seminary," 103 ff. The minutes of the faculty from 1830 and the minutes of the trustees are in the President's Office, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh.

³³ Act of March 29, 1844, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1844*, p. 177; Western Theological Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, July 7, 1846, p. 23.

³⁴ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*, May 27, 1825, pp. 148 ff.; Western Theological Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, July 7, 1846, p. 23.

³⁵ Act of April 29, 1854, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1854*, p. 531; *supra*, 94 ff.

those Negroes who did not have the advantage of a thorough classical and scientific training, "but who desire some preparation for immediate usefulness"; second, they felt that the "requirement of a complete classical training as a prerequisite to authorized ministerial labor will defer for a generation their enlightenment by the truth" of many Negro candidates for the ministry. In fact, the first two students with whom the institute opened its doors January 1, 1857, were enrolled in the theological class.³⁶

It was not until 1866, however, the year in which the institute became Lincoln University, that "a regular two-year Theological Course" was announced.³⁷ Two years later the faculty reported the formation of a class composed of "a number of students who have been connected with this institution several years."³⁸ Moreover, the prediction, made by the trustees in 1870, that the requirement of a complete classical training as a prerequisite to authorized ministerial labor would defer for a generation the candidacy of many Negroes, proved to be inaccurate. No more than two years after the prophecy, the faculty informed the trustees that because of the incompleteness of the theological course all except one of the graduates of the collegiate department who desired to pursue a theological course, had enrolled at other theological schools and that the present senior class "appears to be contemplating a similar course." They therefore recommended, and the trustees approved, "a complete theological course of three years." Three years later the university awarded its first theological degree in course, the Bachelor of Sacred Theology, to one member of the senior class of the theological department.³⁹

Disturbed by what they termed "a long process of defection from the Christian faith," which culminated in the adoption of the principles of the "Auburn Affirmation," and the consequent departure of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America and its theological seminaries from the "Plan" of the Princeton Theological Seminary adopted in 1811, a group of evangelical Presbyterian ministers and laymen decided in the summer of 1929 to establish

³⁶ Ashmun Institute, *Circular* (1866), 1; Lincoln University, *Catalogue* (1869-70), 22; Ashmun Institute, *Minutes of Trustees*, I, June 20, 1859, p. 13.

³⁷ Act of April 4, 1866, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1866*, p. 452; Lincoln University, *Catalogue* (1865-66), 7, 9.

³⁸ Lincoln University, *Minutes of Trustees*, I, June 17, 1868, p. 82.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1872, pp. 192-93; *Catalogue* (1871-72), 27; *Minutes of Trustees*, II, June 2, 1875, p. 2.

a seminary free of these "Modernist-indifferentist" tendencies.⁴⁰ The new institution, the Westminster Theological Seminary, was to differ from its predecessors, the Princeton and Western theological seminaries, both with respect to basic ecclesiastical tenets and with respect to control—it has no connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church or with any other church body.⁴¹

At its first recorded meeting, the executive committee of the proposed seminary was offered for instructional purposes the use of a property on Pine Street in Philadelphia, tax free and rent free for the space of one year.⁴² Provided with a temporary home for the institution, the committee set September 25, 1929, as the date for the holding of the opening exercises, and fixed the starting date, salary schedule, and housing allowances of the first faculty.⁴³ A charter was drafted, and articles of incorporation were secured from the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia March 31, 1930.⁴⁴

The charter declares that the "Corporation is formed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a Theological Seminary of high educational efficiency," and one which will at all times teach and defend the theological standards set forth in the introduction to the plan for the Princeton Theological Seminary adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in 1811. It stipulates that the corporation shall exist perpetually and that it shall be managed by a board of trustees consisting of twenty-one men, of whom fourteen, but no more than fourteen, shall be ministers of the gospel.⁴⁵

Difficulties of a financial and doctrinal nature impeded the progress of the infant seminary. The great depression of the 1930's which had been ushered in almost simultaneously with the birth of the institution, forced the adoption of such stringent measures as the reduction of faculty salaries.⁴⁶ Scarcely had this storm been weathered before an "ecclesiastical crisis" rent the faculty and the board of trustees. Those

⁴⁰ Westminster Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1929-30), 12 ff. Catalogues, Minutes of Trustees, and Minutes of Executive Committee are in the Registrar's Office, Westminster Theological Seminary, Chestnut Hill.

⁴¹ Interview with Professor Paul Wooley, March 19, 1952.

⁴² Westminster Theological Seminary, Minutes of Executive Committee, I, August 13, 1929, p. 3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, September 13, 20, 1929, pp. 9, 13.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, January 10, 1930, p. 23; Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 109, p. 382 (March 31, 1930), City Hall, Philadelphia.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Westminster Theological Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, I, October 11, 1932, p. 59.

in both bodies who disagreed with the faculty-formulated statement of principles "in the battle against Modernism in the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., or in any other churches," were forced to resign their offices.⁴⁷ Not only was the internal harmony of the institution disturbed, but the external relations of the seminary with the Presbyterian churches were virtually severed. It was reported in 1936, the year of the culmination of the "crisis," that "the pulpits of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. have been closed to the graduates of this Seminary."⁴⁸

Yet the institution managed to survive and to perform the functions for which it had been created. The first class was graduated in 1930, and its members were presented with certificates attesting the successful completion of their studies.⁴⁹ A new site was purchased in Chestnut Hill, the present home of the seminary, in 1937.⁵⁰ The following year the trustees voted to amend the charter so that degrees in course could be awarded their graduates. This amendment was approved by the State Council of Education, and the Court of Common Pleas of Montgomery County issued its final decree April 18, 1939, empowering the seminary to confer the Bachelor of Theology degree.⁵¹ On the basis of this decree, the trustees awarded such degrees to the class of 1939 and retroactively to all former graduates of the seminary, beginning with the class of 1930.⁵² Subsequently, further amendments to the charter were obtained to include the right to grant the Master of Theology degree and to change the undergraduate degree from Bachelor of Theology to Bachelor of Divinity.⁵³

Moravian. Early in the history of the Moravian church in Europe there developed a regard and an appreciation for the stimulating influences exerted by an educated ministry. This was given concrete expression in the sixteenth century in the establishment of a theological seminary (1584) in connection with the college at Eibenshutz, Moravia.⁵⁴ Consequently, it was consistent with their church heritage for the American elders to promulgate a plan in 1802 envisioning the

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, October 22, 1935, pp. 89-90; January 7, 1936, p. 97.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, October 20, 1936, p. 117.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, May 6, 1930, p. 43.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1937, p. 143.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, September 21, 1938, pp. 166-67; *PRSPI, 1938-1940*, p. 15; Montgomery County, Charter Book, III, 133 (April 18, 1939), Courthouse, Norristown.

⁵² Westminster Theological Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, I, May 9, 1939, pp. 173 ff.

⁵³ Montgomery County, Charter Book, IV, 363 (December 29, 1943); VII, 77 (December 2, 1949).

⁵⁴ Schwarze, *History of the Moravian College*, 8 ff.

establishment of a seminary where the young might be prepared for "service in school work" and where boys who exhibited sufficient genius might "be trained as ministers of the town and country congregations."⁵⁵ As noted previously, however, it was not until October 2, 1807, that the seminary was formally opened with two students and with a curriculum embracing "Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German Composition, Mathematics, General History, Ecclesiastical History, Exegesis, Geography, Drawing."⁵⁶ Five years after it began the seminary was forced to close, and did not again resume operations until 1820.⁵⁷

Owing, no doubt, to the absence of a liberal arts college, the early curriculum included disciplines usually reserved for the college program. Nor did this condition change appreciably after the "Moravian College and Theological Seminary" was officially established by act of the Provincial Synod in 1858.⁵⁸ The minutes of the faculty for that year proposed that the senior class be examined in "Exegesis of N.T., Exegesis of O.T., Homiletics, Pastoral Theology, Church History, Brethren's History, Dogmatics, Logic," while the junior class was to undergo an examination in "Greek prose, Greek poetry, Latin (prose or poetry), Algebra, Geometry, Hebrew, German."⁵⁹ A clear line of demarcation between the curriculum of the college and the studies of the theological seminary was not effected until thirteen years after the institution was chartered by the legislature with the power to confer degrees.⁶⁰

In 1876 the catalogue for the first time contains an outline of a two-year course of study for the theological department.⁶¹ Eighteen years later (1894) it was announced that the Bachelor of Divinity degree would be conferred upon those who successfully completed the two-year theological course. Simultaneously with this announcement, the trustees awarded the first degrees in theology, the Bachelor of Divinity degree, to be conferred by the theological seminary.⁶² This

⁵⁵ Protocoll der Provincial Helfer Conferenz fürs Ganze der Pensylvanischen und umliegenden Gemeinen, June 1, October 30, 1802, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem.

⁵⁶ *Supra*, 233; Schwarze, *History of the Moravian College*, 39 ff.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 54 ff.

⁵⁸ *Journal of the Provincial Synod of the United Brethren's Church in the Northern Section of the United States . . .*, Minutes of June 9, 1858, p. 56 ff.

⁵⁹ Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Minutes of Faculty, December 7, 1858, p. 3, Moravian Archives.

⁶⁰ Act of April 3, 1863, Pennsylvania, *Laws*, 1863, p. 277.

⁶¹ Moravian College and Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1876), 11.

⁶² *Ibid.*, (1893-94), 7; Minutes of Trustees, June 12, 1894, pp. 61-62.

two-year theological course remained in force until 1931, when a third year was added.⁶³

Lutheran. Theological instruction by individual pastors to occasional candidates for the Lutheran ministry occurred early in the history of the church in America. The diary of Pastor John F. Handschuh records the examination of one such aspirant in 1749, when he and the Reverends Henry M. Muhlenberg, Peter Brunholtz, and John N. Kurtz examined a Mr. Schaum, found him qualified and recommended his ordination and call to the people of York, Pennsylvania.⁶⁴

Such intermittent instruction, however, could scarcely suffice to meet the needs of the church. Consequently, when Johann Christoph Kunze announced his intention of establishing a seminary, the twenty-second convention of the ministerium, meeting at Philadelphia in 1769, requested "that each member write out his thoughts concerning the best method, and send them in."⁶⁵ After the school had been set in operation, the ministerium was asked by Kunze to become its patron and to lend it the systematic support of which an organized body was capable. This request was granted, "since," in Henry Muhlenberg's words, "a beginning has already been made for a German Seminary in Philadelphia, capable subjects might be prepared there in the necessary languages and knowledge . . . and prepared as school teachers, catechists and country preachers, as also for 'oeconomie.'"⁶⁶ But this venture was not fated to last beyond the Revolution, and a considerable period of time elapsed before a successful project was initiated.

What the individual synods could not accomplish,⁶⁷ was brought about through the concerted energies of the church organized in a general synod. At the third annual meeting of this body (1825) it was decided that the matter of a theological seminary could no longer be deferred. Measures were taken to obtain the necessary funds; a board of directors was elected, invested with the management of the institu-

⁶³ Moravian College and Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1930-31), 62-73.

⁶⁴ *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States . . . 1748-1821* (Philadelphia, 1898), Minutes of June 4, 1749, p. 25.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes of June 25-27, 1769, p. 119.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes of June 12-15, 1773, pp. 145 ff.

⁶⁷ S. S. Schmucker, *An Inaugural Address . . . at His Induction into the Professorship of Christian Theology, September 5, 1826* (Carlisle, Pa., 1826), 3, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

tion, instructed to draw up a constitution for the proposed seminary, and given the power to select a suitable site; and a professor of Christian theology was selected.⁶⁸

At their very first meeting (March, 1826) the board of directors considered pleas made by the citizens of Hagerstown, Maryland, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and Carlisle, Pennsylvania, including a proposition of the trustees of Dickinson College, and chose to locate the seminary at Gettysburg because of the attractiveness of its offer. At the same time the directors adopted the constitution ordered by the General Synod; made provision for the solicitation of funds; chose the texts to be used in the institution; and "Resolved that the Seminary commence its operations on the 1st Tuesday in September & that on that day the professor be inaugurated."⁶⁹ In accordance with the last decision, the seminary was opened September 5, 1826, with eleven students applying for admission, and the Reverend S. S. Schmucker was installed as the professor of Christian theology.⁷⁰

The initial organizational measures proved effective, and the future of the seminary appeared to be assured. Permanent legal status was obtained by the incorporation of the "Theological Seminary of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church" by the State legislature in 1827.⁷¹ A course of theological studies was instituted, requiring three years for its completion.⁷² Professor Schmucker established the seminary's first scholarship (1828) by donating \$1,000 for that purpose.⁷³ Two years later a second professor was appointed, one of "Biblical & Oriental Literature"; and a site was selected and a contractor chosen for erecting the seminary building.⁷⁴

According to the minutes of the directors, the institution enjoyed a steady and relatively unimpeded growth. Those problems which did arise, like bilingual instruction for monolingual students, which caused the faculty to complain (1858) that "the English students [were]

⁶⁸ *Verhandlungen der Dritten General Synode, der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche . . . Gehalten zu Friedrichstadt, Maryland, October, 1825* (Yorktown, Md., 1826), 5-8.

⁶⁹ Lutheran Theological Seminary, Minutes of Directors, I, March 2, 1826, pp. 1-4. Minutes of Directors and catalogues are in the Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg.

⁷⁰ Lutheran Theological Seminary, Minutes of Directors, I, September 5, 1826, p. 6; Schmucker, *Inaugural Address*, 3-4.

⁷¹ Act of April 17, 1827, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1826-1827*, p. 496.

⁷² Lutheran Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1827), 4.

⁷³ Lutheran Theological Seminary, Minutes of Directors, I, May 14, 1828, pp. 20 ff.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I, May 17, 1830, pp. 33-34; *Hazard's Register*, I (January 2, 1830), 16.

paying no attention to the German, & the Germans but little to the English language," yielded to the simple expedient of requiring students to devote extra hours of study in the language they understood to those courses conducted during the regular school day in the tongue in which they were deficient.⁷⁵ By 1896 the directors resolved to conform to the growing practice among theological seminaries to confer degrees upon their graduates. The Pennsylvania College and University Council approved the application for a charter amendment (May 24, 1897) limiting the institution to the granting of the Bachelor of Divinity degree only, and the Court of Common Pleas of Adams County issued its final decree a few days later.⁷⁶ In 1899 the seminary conferred its first degrees, the Bachelor of Divinity degree, on six students of the graduating class.⁷⁷

With the expansion of its curriculum, the institution began to award an advanced degree, the Master of Sacred Theology degree, to certain of its postgraduate students.⁷⁸ Seeking to make provision for those students, particularly women, who wished to secure professional training for church service other than ordination to the ministry, the directors, acting on the recommendation of the president of the seminary, also resolved to institute a course of instruction leading to the Master of Arts degree. One woman was admitted to the course when it was first initiated in the autumn of 1945, and three others were accepted for admission in September, 1946.⁷⁹ In 1948 the seminary at Gettysburg conferred the Master of Arts degree on three women. These not only constitute the first degrees awarded to women by the seminary, but are its first Master of Arts degrees as well.⁸⁰

Susquehanna University, founded as the "Missionary Institute of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," was established for the purpose

⁷⁵ Lutheran Theological Seminary, Minutes of Directors, I, September 14, 1858, pp. 223 ff.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, III, June 4, 1896, p. 112; Adams County, Book, YY, 283 (May 27, 1897).

⁷⁷ Lutheran Theological Seminary, Minutes of Directors, III, May 18, 1899, p. 140.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, May 7, 1940, p. 114.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, May 8, 1945, pp. 109, 204 ff.; *Catalogue* (1945-46), 12-14; Minutes of Directors, May 7, 1946, p. 219.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1948, p. 259. Research has failed to discover the legal basis for conferring either the Master of Theology or the Master of Arts degree. The charter amendment of 1897 permits the granting of the Bachelor of Divinity degree only. Subsequent charter amendments recorded in the office of the Recorder of Deeds of Adams County not only fail to expand the degree-granting powers beyond the Bachelor of Divinity degree, but are not concerned with such matters; see Miscellaneous Volume, A, 577 (February 14, 1907); F, 166 (May 16, 1921).

of carrying forward "the education of pious & sound minded men (irrespective of age or domestic ties) for the office of the holy ministry in the Evan. Lutheran church, including the mission field at home and abroad."⁸¹ It was to differ from the seminary at Gettysburg in that it aimed "to prepare for the gospel Ministry men of sound piety and respectable attainments . . . who may be somewhat advanced in life, without necessitating them to pass through the Curriculum of an entire Collegiate education."⁸²

Early in 1857 the managers elected the first superintendent of the institute, the Reverend Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, who was also to serve as "Professor in the Department of Sacred Scriptures, Systematic Divinity & Pastoral Theology & such other branches as the Board may assign him."⁸³ The following year they appointed an assistant professor of theology and at the same time resolved to open the theological department "on the first Thursday of October 1858."⁸⁴ A three-year course of study was adopted, to be modified in length and content in accordance with the needs of individual students; and standards of admission were formulated, requiring evidence of piety and "of a Divine call to the gospel ministry" rather than academic acquirements as conditions for matriculation.⁸⁵

The first break with the original purpose of confining admission to those who had not undergone a complete classical training occurred in 1873. The following year the superintendent reported to the board of managers: "Up to the close of our last school year my settled policy was not to receive college graduates into my Classes but having been frequently remonstrated with by members of the Board, I finally yielded: and at the opening of our school last August 1, I received Mr. E. H. Leiseuring a graduate of the Penna. College."⁸⁶ A quarter of a century later (1898) the institute (now Susquehanna University) had so far departed from its traditional admissions policy that it determined to confer the Bachelor of Divinity degree on certain of its theological graduates.⁸⁷ This decision was consummated at the begin-

⁸¹ Missionary Institute, Minutes of Managers, I, December 15, 1856, pp. 1 ff.

⁸² *Ibid.*, August 31, 1858, pp. 39 ff.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, February 9, 1857, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1858, p. 36.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, August 31, 1858, pp. 43-44; Missionary Institute, *Catalogue* (1858-59), 12-13.

⁸⁶ Missionary Institute, Minutes of Managers, June 1, 1874, p. 153.

⁸⁷ Susquehanna University, Minutes of Directors, II, June 14, 1898, p. 118.

ning of the twentieth century with the awarding of the degree to two men of the class of 1900.⁸⁸

It is probable that the differences within the Lutheran church that led to the establishment of Muhlenberg College⁸⁹ were also operative in the decision of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to found a theological seminary at Philadelphia, despite the existence of one at Gettysburg and of the theological department of the Missionary Institute at Selinsgrove. At its meeting of 1864 the ministerium resolved, "That in the name of the Lord, we now determine to undertake the establishment of a Theological Seminary."⁹⁰ A special meeting was held to consider the committee report previously presented to the ministerium, and the following measures were adopted: the new institution was to be known as "The Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in Philadelphia"; two professors *ordinarii*, one to take charge of the German department, the other to head the English department, and two professors *extraordinarii* were elected; a provisional board of directors, consisting of eleven ministers and nine laymen, was selected.⁹¹

The new faculty met the following month and formulated a course of study three years in length with the classes divided into two parallel sections, one section to be conducted in German and the other in the English language.⁹² According to Luther Reed, "The Philadelphia Seminary was the first Lutheran institution in the country to provide a standard course in Theology covering three years."⁹³ This curriculum was approved by the provisional directors, "subject to such alterations as may hereafter be agreed upon by the Faculty and the Board." At the same time they appointed a committee in conjunction with the faculty to draft a constitution and rules and regulations for the seminary.⁹⁴

On October 4, 1864, the professors were formally inaugurated. The following day classes were initiated with fourteen students, some of

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1900, p. 159.

⁸⁹ *Supra*, 135.

⁹⁰ *Minutes of the 117th Annual Meeting of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium . . .*, May 25, 1864, p. 36.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, May 26, July 27, 1864, pp. 42-43, 80-81.

⁹² Lutheran Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), *Minutes of Faculty*, I, August 24, 1864. The various minutes are in the Archives of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia.

⁹³ Luther D. Reed (ed.), *The Philadelphia Seminary Biographical Record 1864-1923* (Philadelphia, 1923), 11.

⁹⁴ Lutheran Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), *Minutes of Provisional Directors*, I, August 25, 1864, p. 101.

whom had previous theological training and most of whom were college graduates.⁹⁵ Early in 1865 a building was purchased to house the seminary.⁹⁶ The committee appointed to prepare a constitution submitted a draft, which, after some alterations, was adopted both by the provisional directors and the synod. After the constitution had been placed in force, permanent directors replaced the provisional board which had been operating up to this time.⁹⁷ Three years following the opening of the seminary the first class was graduated and awarded certificates to memorialize their successful completion of the three-year theological program.⁹⁸

For almost thirty years the institution functioned without a charter, but in 1893 it was incorporated by the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia. By the terms of the charter, the corporation was to exist perpetually. It was to be managed by a board of directors, thirty-six in number, one-half of whom were to be clergymen of the Evangelical Lutheran church. A unique feature of the charter was the specific stipulation that the corporation "shall make no charges for tuition."⁹⁹

With the receipt of a gift of \$50,000 in 1913, the directors decided to establish a graduate department.¹⁰⁰ This in turn led the seminary to apply for a charter amendment so that the appropriate theological degrees might be conferred on its graduates. The amendment was approved by the College and University Council December 8, 1915, and the court issued its final decree a few days later empowering the institution to confer the degrees of "Bachelor of Divinity, Doctor of Divinity, Master of Sacred Theology and Doctor of Sacred Theology."¹⁰¹ In 1917 the seminary conferred its first degrees in course, the Bachelor of Divinity degree, on eight members of the senior class.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Lutheran Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), Minutes of Faculty, I, October 5, 1864.

⁹⁶ Minutes of Provisional Directors, I, May 3, 1865, p. 17.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*; Lutheran Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), *Catalogue* (1869), pp. 17 ff.; Minutes of Directors, I, August 30, 1865, pp. 21 ff.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1867, p. 30.

⁹⁹ Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 19, p. 337 (November 25, 1893).

¹⁰⁰ Lutheran Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), Minutes of Directors, III, February 3, 24, 1913, pp. 135, 141.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, April 9, 1913, p. 149; May 19, 1914, pp. 227 ff.; Pennsylvania College and University Council, Certificate of Approval, December 8, 1915, copy in Archives of the Seminary; Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 52, p. 565 (December 13, 1915).

¹⁰² Lutheran Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), Minutes of Directors, IV, May 15, 1917, p. 52.

Evangelical and Reformed (German Reformed). The lack of success attending the efforts of the German Reformed church in the eighteenth century to provide domestic means for the training of its clergy has already been noted.¹⁰³ These efforts were renewed in the third decade of the nineteenth century when the General Synod of the church reached a final and definite decision to establish a theological seminary.¹⁰⁴ However, five years were to elapse before the seminary was to draw its first breath of life. In 1824 Dickinson College reiterated its previous offer to the synod to locate the proposed school of theology at Carlisle.¹⁰⁵ The synod accepted the proposition of the college trustees, which included the use of a lecture room in the college edifice; the free use of the library and the attendance without charge of the seminary students on the lectures of the college faculty; and the providing of a home for the professor of the theological seminary. In turn, the synod was to allow the theological professor "to officiate as a member of the faculty of the College, to be styled 'The Professor of History and German Literature,' and to instruct such students of the College as may be pursuing the study of History and the German language."¹⁰⁶

On March 11, 1825, the seminary was opened at Carlisle with five students in attendance. But, after an experience of four and a half years the church decided that Carlisle was not a suitable place for its institution and removed the school to York, Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1829.¹⁰⁷ Two years later a charter was obtained from the State Supreme Court providing for a board of trustees and a board of visitors, the former responsible for overseeing the financial affairs of the seminary and the latter concerned with instructional matters.¹⁰⁸ With the establishment of Marshall College at Mercersburg, the seminary was again moved (1837) to be close to the main source of

¹⁰³ *Supra*, 107-110.

¹⁰⁴ *Verhandlungen der General Synode der Hochdeutschen Reformirten Kirche . . . Gehalten in Hagerstadt, Maryland, September, 1820* (Hagerstown, Md., 1820), September 24, 1820, pp. 19 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Dickinson College, Minutes of Trustees, II, December 13, 1820, pp. 120-21; September 3, 8, 1824, p. 240.

¹⁰⁶ *Verhandlungen der Allgemeinen Synode der Hochdeutschen Reformirten Kirche . . . Gehalten zu Bedford, in Pennsylvanien, . . . 1824* (Baltimore, 1824), September 26, 1824, pp. 30-32.

¹⁰⁷ Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church, *Semi-Centennial Register, . . . 1825-1875* (Lancaster, Pa., 1875), 6, in the Library of the Evangelical and Reformed Theological Seminary, Lancaster.

¹⁰⁸ Charter Book, IV, 547 (June 2, 1831), Records of the Department of State, Division of Public Records, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

its students.¹⁰⁹ This action was sanctioned by the legislature in 1844.¹¹⁰ The school did not reach its present home at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, until 1871, eighteen years after the combined colleges of Franklin and Marshall had commenced their first session in that city.¹¹¹

From a course of study embracing a period of two and one-half years, the seminary expanded its curriculum offerings to cover three full years by 1857.¹¹² In 1894, desirous of instituting "a post-graduate course, to cover a period of two or three years of private study, either in residence or at their own homes, which shall entitle all those who diligently pursue it to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity," but lacking the legal power to confer degrees, the board of visitors arranged with the trustees of Franklin and Marshall College to award the degree to successful candidates of the "post-graduate" course.¹¹³ At the close of the nineteenth century the college catalogue announced that "at the request of the Board of Visitors of the Theological Seminary," the Bachelor of Divinity degree had been conferred on one minister.¹¹⁴ After 1912 this arrangement was no longer necessary, since the seminary obtained an amendment to its charter empowering it to grant the Bachelor of Divinity degree; and in 1914 the institution conferred its first degrees.¹¹⁵

Theological instruction for prospective clergy of the Evangelical and Reformed church was also provided at Ursinus College shortly after its founding. In June, 1871, before the close of the college's first academic year, the trustees resolved to open a theological department offering a two-year graded course of study, which was later described as being "nearly equivalent to that given by other Theological Schools

¹⁰⁹ *Supra*, 120-21. Theological Seminary of German Reformed Church, Minutes of Trustees, I, December 1, 1836, October 28, 1837. Minutes of Trustees and Visitors are in the President's Office, Evangelical and Reformed Theological Seminary, Lancaster.

¹¹⁰ Act of April 11, 1844, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1844*, p. 238.

¹¹¹ Theological Seminary of German Reformed Church, Minutes of Trustees, II, November 10, 1870, May 30, October 17, 1871; Franklin and Marshall College, Minutes of Trustees, I, January 25, 1853, p. 24.

¹¹² Marshall College, *Catalogue* (1843-44), 31-32; Franklin and Marshall College, *Catalogue* (1856-57), 38.

¹¹³ Theological Seminary of Reformed Church, Minutes of Visitors, May 8, 1894, pp. 5-6; Franklin and Marshall College, *Catalogue* (1894-95), 75 ff. The word "German" was dropped from the corporate title by decree of the Lancaster County Court of Common Pleas; Lancaster County, Charter Book, I, 174 (January 17, 1881), Courthouse, Lancaster.

¹¹⁴ Franklin and Marshall College, *Catalogue* (1899-1900), 39-40.

¹¹⁵ Lancaster County, Charter Book, III, 404 (February 22, 1913); Theological Seminary of Reformed Church, Minutes of Trustees, III, May 8, 1914. p. 47.

in three years.”¹¹⁶ Five years after the inception of this department the catalogue announced that “The degree of Bachelor of Divinity is conferred upon all college graduates who have taken a full course in the Theological Department.”¹¹⁷ In 1889 the curriculum was expanded to include a third year.¹¹⁸ Shortly before the close of the nineteenth century the “Ursinus School of Theology” was moved to Philadelphia; and in 1907 it was merged with the Central Theological Seminary in Ohio.¹¹⁹

Catholic. Formal theological training for prospective Roman Catholic priests in Pennsylvania had its origins in the decision of Bishop Patrick Francis Kenrick of the Diocese of Philadelphia, endorsed by Philadelphia’s first synod (May 15, 1832), to establish a diocesan seminary.¹²⁰ According to a press account of the synodical proceedings, the report of the committee appointed to consider the planning of the project “was favorably received by the Synod, without a single dissenting voice, and several of the clergy offered from their scanty means to subscribe twenty-five dollars a year each to support the college.”¹²¹ This marked the beginning of the Philadelphia Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo.

Instruction was begun in June, 1832, with five students.¹²² An entry in Bishop Kenrick’s diary dated June 26, 1832, states: “I received into my own house Patrick Bradley, as a student of the Seminary. He had come here from the diocese of Derry in Ireland. . . .”¹²³ From this beginning as the individual concern of the bishop of the diocese, the institution grew in numbers, occupied larger quarters, and was directed by varying instructors,¹²⁴ until it was determined to invest it with more permanent legal status. Accordingly, an act was secured from the State legislature (1838) incorporating the Philadelphia Theological Semi-

¹¹⁶ Ursinus College, *Catalogue* (1870-71), 18; S. L. Messinger, “History of Ursinus College,” *The Ruby*, I (1896), 16 ff.; *Catalogue* (1886-87), 46. Catalogues and *The Ruby* are in the Library of the college, Collegeville.

¹¹⁷ Ursinus College, *Catalogue* (1876-77), 15.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* (1888-89), 51-53.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* (1897-98), 69; (1907-08), 66; Hunsicker, *Montgomery County*, 400.

¹²⁰ Philadelphia U. S. Catholic Press, May 24, 1832; George E. O’Donnell, *St. Charles Seminary Overbrook . . . 1832-1943* (Philadelphia, 1943), 11.

¹²¹ Philadelphia U. S. Catholic Press, May 24, 1832.

¹²² Augustine J. Schulte, “Philadelphia Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo,” in College and University Council, “Biennial Report,” *PRSPI*, 1900, p. 115.

¹²³ Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 76.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, entry of January 11, 1837, p. 136; September 23, 1838, pp. 171-72; January 22, 1839, p. 173.

uary of Saint Charles Borromeo "for instruction in theology, science and literature." The corporation was to exist perpetually and was to have all the rights, privileges, and immunities, including the power of conferring degrees, that were contained in the act incorporating Laurel Hill College.¹²⁵

By 1840 the seminary enrollment had increased to twenty-five students with three professors, organized into three departments: theology, philosophy, and the preparatory classes.¹²⁶ Its financial stability was provided for by the formation on March 16, 1840, of the "Auxiliary Society of St. Charles Borromeo," whose energies were largely devoted to the raising of funds.¹²⁷ Aside from a brief suspension of two months necessitated by the anti-Catholic riots of 1844,¹²⁸ the institution has experienced uninterrupted life.

Although the original charter empowers the seminary to confer degrees, there is no record to indicate the power was ever used.¹²⁹ The failure to exercise this corporate function, coupled with the requirements of the legislative act of 1895 prescribing the conditions under which institutions may grant degrees, placed in question the seminary's legal right to award such honors. An appeal for advice to the State Council of Education resulted in a decision rendered by the Department of Justice "confirming the right of this institution to grant such degrees as are now generally conferred by institutions of collegiate rank."¹³⁰

There were two other attempts at establishing diocesan theological seminaries, but these were either unsuccessful or deprived of life after a period of usefulness. Nothing more has been uncovered concerning one of these, the "Catholic Theological Seminary" at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, than the terse remark "Closed June 6, 1886," contained in the report of the United States Commissioner of Education.¹³¹ The other, St. Michael's Roman Catholic Seminary at Pittsburgh, is variously reported as having been founded in 1847 and in 1862.¹³² Sub-

¹²⁵ Act of April 13, 1838, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1837-1838*, p. 357; Act of April 13, 1835, *ibid.*, 1834-1835, p. 217; *supra*, 212.

¹²⁶ *Annual Report of the President of the Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo*, November 10, 1840, p. 4. These reports are in the archives of the seminary, Overbrook, Philadelphia.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, November 4, 1844, p. 3.

¹²⁹ O'Donnell, *St. Charles Seminary*, 154.

¹³⁰ *PRSPI*, 1928, p. 169.

¹³¹ *USRCE, 1886-1887*, p. 748.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 519; 1876, p. 741.

sequent reports of the United States Commissioner of Education, beginning with that of 1879 and closing with the report of 1881, list the institution as one "from which no information has been received."¹³³ However, in 1890 a charter was issued to St. Michael's Roman Catholic Seminary by the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County. The document declared that in the year 1857 the Reverend Michael O'Connor had "established and maintained an Ecclesiastical Seminary for the education in Theology and other branches, young men desirous of qualifying for ordination to the Priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church for the Diocese of Pittsburgh," but that the buildings were entirely destroyed by fire and "have not yet been rebuilt."¹³⁴ Apparently, the procuring of the charter of incorporation was intended as a first step in the re-establishment of the institution. But the movement appears to have been arrested at this point, for available sources make no further mention of St. Michael's Roman Catholic Seminary.

The majority of the Catholic theological seminaries in Pennsylvania were initiated and are maintained by the various religious societies of priests for the primary purpose of qualifying candidates for their orders and to obviate the necessity for educating them abroad. Thus Villanova College, founded by the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, opened its theological department with the admission of its first candidate for the novitiate on May 18, 1848.¹³⁵ St. Vincent College, under the aegis of the Benedictines at Latrobe, Pennsylvania, announced a course of theological instruction in 1862; and the seminary was raised to an "Apostolic College" in 1914.¹³⁶ The Congregation of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul, upon its removal to Germantown, Pennsylvania, from St. Louis, Missouri, also transplanted its theological seminary in January, 1868.¹³⁷ In 1914 the Minor Seminary was moved to Princeton, New Jersey; and in September, 1939, the Major Seminary, then consisting of two years of philosophy and four years of theology, was transferred to Northampton, Pennsylvania, leaving the Novitiate or

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 1879, p. 538; 1880, p. 700; 1881, p. 631.

¹³⁴ Allegheny County, Charter Book, XIV, 396 (March 10, 1890), Courthouse, Pittsburgh.

¹³⁵ Middleton (comp.), *Historical Sketch*, 32.

¹³⁶ St. Vincent College, *Catalogue* (1861-62), 17; (1914-15), 45, St. Vincent College Archives, Latrobe.

¹³⁷ Diary or Book of Record of the Congregation of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul, 1862-1868, entry for January 17, 1868, pp. 2-3, in Archives, St. Vincent's Seminary, Philadelphia.

internal seminary at Philadelphia.¹³⁸ After the uniting of the Franciscan Brothers (who, prior to 1908, had conducted St. Francis College, Loretto, Pennsylvania) with the community of priests of the Third Order Regular of Saint Francis of Assisi, a seminary was opened at the college in September, 1911, offering a course in theology extending over four years.¹³⁹ St. Fidelis College and Seminary at Herman, Butler County, Pennsylvania, founded in 1877 and listed by the Department of Public Instruction since 1900 as a secondary school,¹⁴⁰ was approved by the State Council of Education November 4, 1949, as an institution of higher education and was chartered by the Court of Common Pleas of Butler County in January, 1950. The charter incorporates St. Fidelis College and Seminary under the auspices and direction of the members of the "Province of St. Augustine of the Capuchin Order for instruction of students for ordination to the Roman Catholic priesthood" and empowers the institution to confer the degrees of Bachelor of Philosophy and Bachelor of Religious Education.¹⁴¹

Unitarian. Founded in 1844 by the Unitarians with some co-operation from members of the Christian denomination,¹⁴² the Meadville Theological School at Meadville, Crawford County, Pennsylvania, was chartered by the State legislature in 1846. The act of incorporation specifically stipulates that "no doctrinal test shall ever be made a condition of enjoying any of the opportunities of instruction in the school, except a belief in the divine origin of Christianity." Control of the institution is vested in a self-perpetuating board of trustees, not to exceed thirty in number. The faculty, organized as a "Board of Instruction" is given sole responsibility for the system of instruction and "all that pertains to the educational department of the school." Further, the faculty members are empowered to recommend additions or replacements to their body which become permanent, unless otherwise directed by the trustees within three months of the date of the recommendation. The charter names the Reverend Rufus P. Stebbins

¹³⁸ Register of the Deliberations of the Council of the Province of the Congregation of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul, 1863-1929, entry for June 17, 1914, p. 165, in Archives, St. Vincent's Seminary; interview with the Reverend Joseph M. Noonan, Director of Studies for the Eastern Province of the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul, March 27, 1952.

¹³⁹ St. Francis College, *Catalogue* (1913-14), 12.

¹⁴⁰ *PRSPI*, 1900, pp. 825 ff.

¹⁴¹ Butler County, Charter Book, IX, 93 (January 26, 1950), Courthouse, Butler.

¹⁴² Samuel P. Bates, "Meadville Theological School." *PRSPI*, 1877, p. 755; Samuel P. Bates, *Our County and Its People, A Historical and Memorial Record of Crawford County, Pennsylvania* (1899), 271.

as the first president of the faculty or board of instruction, and the Reverends Frederick Huidekoper, George W. Hosmer, and David Milard as the other members.¹⁴³

Two years after the founding of the school, three men who constituted the first graduating class were granted the diploma of the institution.¹⁴⁴ By 1866 the course of study had been lengthened to three years.¹⁴⁵ Although the original charter did not empower the school to confer degrees, the institution nevertheless announced in 1880 that:

College graduates, completing the full theological course and passing the prescribed examinations therein, and submitting an approved thesis on some topic within the range of the studies of the course, may receive the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. Persons not college graduates, who wish the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, must, in addition to the above, pass prescribed examinations in the Latin, Greek, and German languages.¹⁴⁶

On the basis of this pronouncement a graduate of the class of 1862 was awarded the Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1881.¹⁴⁷ Similar degrees were conferred upon individual graduates of the classes of 1883 and 1878 in the years 1884 and 1885, respectively. It was not until 1889 that graduates of the class of that year were granted their degrees at the time of their graduation.¹⁴⁸ Since the legal right of the institution to award degrees was in question, the seminary petitioned the College and University Council (1910) to amend the charter "so as to remove all doubt as to its power to confer Degrees of Doctor of Divinity, Bachelor of Divinity and such other degrees as are usually granted by other Theological and Divinity Schools and Seminaries." The petition was granted, and the Court of Common Pleas of Crawford County issued its final decree the following year.¹⁴⁹

Compelled "by the logic of inescapable facts and the pressure of social and educational conditions" and by the lack of college-trained men as applicants for admission, the trustees decided on November

¹⁴³ Act of April 7, 1846, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1846*, p. 497.

¹⁴⁴ Meadville Theological School, *General Catalogue* (1844-1930), 15, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁴⁵ Meadville Theological School, *Catalogue* (1865-66), 5.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, (1879-80), 15.

¹⁴⁷ Meadville Theological School, *General Catalogue* (1844-1930), 171.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ College and University Council, "Biennial Report," *PRSPI*, 1910, p. 602; Crawford County, Charter Book, C, 567 (June 5, 1911), Courthouse, Meadville.

23, 1923, to remove the institution to a large metropolitan area where there was an important theological and university center. Chicago was chosen as the new site; and classes were commenced there on September 30, 1926.¹⁵⁰

Baptist. Shortly after the organization of college classes, the trustees of the University at Lewisburg (Bucknell University) appointed a committee "to prepare and report a plan at the present meeting for the establishment of a Theological Department in connection with the University."¹⁵¹ The following day the trustees adopted the recommendations of the committee to connect a theological department with the university; to formulate a course of instruction of one or more years, according to the circumstances of individual students and "so constructed as to meet as far as possible the wants of Graduates, and of such young ministers not graduates, as may wish to avail themselves of its advantages"; and to furnish instruction gratuitously. A professor of theology was elected; and a two-year post-collegiate course of theological instruction formulated.¹⁵² In 1857, two young men received the first certificates awarded by the university for the completion of the two-year theological course.¹⁵³ With the contemplated opening of the Crozer Theological Seminary at Upland, Pennsylvania, in 1868, the university trustees agreed to discontinue the work of the theological department and to transfer all ecclesiastical instruction to the new institution, provided Crozer Theological Seminary agreed not to "enter into the work of academical or collegiate instruction."¹⁵⁴

Crozer Theological Seminary had its origins in the bequest of John P. Crozer to his four sons of the land and building of his "Normal School Edifice" for "some benevolent purpose."¹⁵⁵ At a meeting of the Crozer family held in November, 1866, it was decided to appropriate the building, valued at \$80,000, supplemented by additional family bequests making a total of \$275,000, to the purposes of a theological seminary under the control of the Baptist denomination. A board of trustees was selected and "authorized to procure an act of incor-

¹⁵⁰ Meadville Theological School, *Catalogue* (October, 1925), 3 ff.

¹⁵¹ University at Lewisburg, Minutes of Trustees, I, April 15, 1851, in the Treasurer's Office, Bucknell University.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, I, April 16, 1851; April 26, 1855; August 14, 1855; *Catalogue* (1855-56), 6-8.

¹⁵³ University at Lewisburg, Minutes of Trustees, I, July 28, 1857.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, II, April 17, 1868, pp. 219 ff.

¹⁵⁵ Crozer Theological Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, I, November 2, 1866, p. 1. Minutes are in the President's Office, Chester.

poration."¹⁵⁶ This was accomplished in April, 1867, when the legislature chartered "The Crozer Theological Seminary" at Upland, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, "for the preparation of candidates for the sacred ministry" under the auspices of the Baptist denomination, with the power "to grant and confirm unto the Students of said Seminary, or unto others deemed worthy, such degrees in theology as they may consider proper."¹⁵⁷

In the same year a faculty of four professors was selected, one of whom, the Reverend Henry Griggs Weston, was chosen as the seminary's first president.¹⁵⁸ A full course of study covering three years, for which no degrees were to be offered, was adopted.¹⁵⁹ Tuition and room rent to students were to be free.¹⁶⁰

On October 2, 1868, the seminary was opened with thirteen men in attendance.¹⁶¹ Two years later, nine students, four of whom had completed the full course of three years, were awarded the first certificates of Crozer Theological Seminary to commemorate their graduation.¹⁶² By 1883, though students were permitted to take partial courses, certificates of graduation were awarded only to those completing the three years.¹⁶³ In the same year the trustees voted to award the Bachelor of Divinity degree "to all such students as shall have satisfactorily completed the full three years' course of study, including the ancient languages." However, this decision was rescinded the following year.¹⁶⁴ It was not until 1891 that the trustees finally resolved to confer the Bachelor of Divinity degree upon students specially selected by the faculty; and the following year Crozer Theological Seminary conferred its first Bachelor of Divinity degree on one student of the class of 1892.¹⁶⁵

Temple University in its first published catalogue announced that one of the objects of the institution was "To encourage and help those

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

¹⁵⁷ Act of April 4, 1867, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1867*, p. 766.

¹⁵⁸ Crozer Theological Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, I, July 9, October 16, December 24, 1867, pp. 25, 27, 28-29.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, June 12, 16, 1868, pp. 7 ff., 34-35; *Catalogue* (1868-69), 7-8. Catalogues are in the Library, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester.

¹⁶⁰ Crozer Theological Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, I, January 3, 1868, p. 30.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, June 8, 1869, p. 43.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, June 7, 1870, p. 57.

¹⁶³ Crozer Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1882-83), 15.

¹⁶⁴ Crozer Theological Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 13, 1883, pp. 240-41; June 10, 1884, pp. 262 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1891, p. 386; *Catalogue* (1891-92), 21-22; Minutes of Trustees, I, May 17, 1892, p. 405.

young men who believe it to be their solemn duty to fit themselves for an efficient ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.”¹⁶⁶ Although the college was not yet prepared to institute a formal program of theological instruction, it did propose to organize “as soon as it is possible, a Department of Bible Study, for the training of the lay workers in the various branches of Church and evangelistic work.”¹⁶⁷ In 1893 there was in operation a two-year “Missionary Training Course” designed as preparation for domestic and foreign missionary work.¹⁶⁸

By 1895 the college announced the existence of a “Theological Department” with both day and evening sessions, the former offering a three-year curriculum leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree, the latter intended for those who “desire to stop short of the Christian Ministry.”¹⁶⁹ However, the trustees decided to discontinue the day sessions in 1896; and the department, now designated “The Philadelphia Theological School,” offered a five-year evening program of studies leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree, open to those who were college graduates or who could pass “an examination in Literature, General Arithmetic, English and American History, and New Testament Greek, and [who were] prepared to write a composition on a given theme, to show ability to use English correctly.”¹⁷⁰ In 1902 a “Post-Graduate Correspondence” course was announced for “clergymen who are alumni of approved Theological Seminaries,” the successful completion of which was to result in the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology.¹⁷¹ Although courses in theology leading to degrees had been offered as early as 1895, it was not until 1904 that the minutes of the trustees record the conferring of the Bachelor of Divinity degree on eight graduates (one a woman), and the Doctor of Sacred Theology degree on one male candidate.¹⁷²

The most recent Baptist effort to provide ecclesiastical training was initiated at the beginning of the second quarter of the twentieth century. Acting upon the conviction “that there was a need for a seminary of high grade in the eastern section of our country,” a group of Baptist leaders met in Philadelphia, March 19, 1925, and formally

¹⁶⁶ Temple College, *Catalogue* (1888), 8, Temple University Library.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁶⁸ Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, I, February 4, 1893, insert on page 5, Temple University Library; *Catalogue* (1893-94), 23.

¹⁶⁹ Temple College, *Catalogue* (1895-96), 31-33.

¹⁷⁰ Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, I, September 5, 1896, p. 255; *Catalogue* (1899-1900), 106-107; *USRCE, 1899-1900*, II, 1892-93.

¹⁷¹ Temple College, *Catalogue* (1902-03), 130-31.

¹⁷² Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, II, May 14, 1904, p. 350.

organized the Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary.¹⁷³ Moving rapidly, they secured a charter from the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia in the same year of their organization, declaring it as their purpose to establish and maintain "a Baptist Theological Seminary of high standards of educational efficiency, and to impart, furnish opportunity for and promote theological education and such other education, instruction and training as may be advisable and requisite to equip Christian workers, Preachers, Missionaries and Teachers of both sexes for work in Christian ministrations."¹⁷⁴

Without either money or buildings at the time of its founding, the institution, because of the generosity of friends in all parts of the country, was able, within three months, to purchase two large edifices on Rittenhouse Square in Philadelphia, and to open its doors on September 22, 1925, with an initial enrollment of nearly fifty students.¹⁷⁵ So rapid was its progress that before the close of the first academic year the State Council of Education approved an amendment to the charter (April 9, 1926) permitting the seminary to grant the degrees of "Bachelor of Theology, Bachelor of Divinity, Master of Theology, Doctor of Theology, Bachelor of Missions, Bachelor of Religious Education, Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity," and the court issued its final decree a few weeks later.¹⁷⁶ Armed with this authority, the seminary announced a wide range of courses ascending from the bachelor's to the doctor's degrees, and it did in fact, at the close of the first year of instruction, confer in course the degree of Doctor of Theology on one student, Master of Theology on one, Bachelor of Divinity on three, Bachelor of Theology on one, Bachelor of Religious Education on three, and the Doctor of Religious Education on one student.¹⁷⁷

Methodist. While the Methodists did not establish a separate theological seminary in Pennsylvania, they did succeed in introducing formal biblical courses of instruction in two of their church-related colleges. Dickinson College in 1860 offered a two-year "Biblical

¹⁷³ Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1925-26), 11.

¹⁷⁴ Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 91, p. 243 (June 24, 1925).

¹⁷⁵ Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1925-26), 11-12.

¹⁷⁶ *PRSPI*, 1926-1928, p. 90; Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 94, p. 124 (April 27, 1926).

¹⁷⁷ Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1925-26), 30 ff.; (1928-29), 21-22.

Course" for those young men "preparing for the Ministry who cannot take a full course."¹⁷⁸

Similarly, Allegheny College, in the same year (1860), offered a like course which promised the successful candidate "a diploma signed by the officers of the Institution."¹⁷⁹ This was expanded in 1866 to a four-year course leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree, differing only slightly from the classical curriculum by substituting New Testament Greek, and Hebrew for the Greek and mathematics of the regular arts program.¹⁸⁰ Ten years later the catalogue announced the contemplated addition to the biblical course of two more years in theology which would entitle the successful candidate to "the usual degree of B.D."¹⁸¹ However, this did not materialize; and by 1884 the department of Hebrew and biblical literature had been discontinued, having made its last appearance in the catalogue of 1882-1883.¹⁸²

Episcopal. While ecclesiastical instruction on an individual basis had been afforded for a number of years prior to 1862 by the bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania of the Protestant Episcopal church and other clergymen, there had been no formal organization of a school until the suspension of the seminary at Alexandria, Virginia, dictated the necessity for one.¹⁸³ Acting in concert with other leaders of the church, Bishop Alonzo Potter secured a charter from the State legislature incorporating the "Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia." The charter invests the school with perpetuity and places its management in the hands of "Trustees" and "overseers." It does not empower the incorporators to confer degrees.¹⁸⁴

A constitution was adopted creating a board of trustees composed primarily of laymen, whose chief concern was the oversight of the financial interests of the institution, and a board of overseers, in which the clergy were predominant, responsible for curricular and other instructional matters. At the same meeting a faculty was selected,

¹⁷⁸ Dickinson College, *Catalogue* (1860-61), 22.

¹⁷⁹ Allegheny College, Minutes of Trustees, II, June 23, 1860, p. 300; *Catalogue* (1860-61), 23-25.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* (1865-66), 15 ff.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* (1875-76), 20.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* (1882-83), 24-25.

¹⁸³ Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Minutes of Trustees and Overseers, I, May 26, 1862, pp. 1 ff.; *Catalogue* (1868-69), 13. All materials in Library of the Divinity School, Philadelphia.

¹⁸⁴ Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Minutes of Trustees and Overseers, I, May 26, 1862, pp. 1-2; Act of April 8, 1862, Pennsylvania, *Laws, 1862*, p. 241.

consisting of four permanent and two acting professors. It was also resolved to open the school formally "after the summer recess."¹⁸⁵ The seminary was opened September 25, 1862, with an enrollment of nineteen students. Four days later Bishop George Burgess delivered the inaugural address.¹⁸⁶

Following these preliminary organizational measures, which included the appointment of a committee of trustees "to secure at an early date, funds for the purchase of grounds and the erection of a suitable building,"¹⁸⁷ the trustees and overseers turned their attention to a consideration of the school's curriculum. A course of studies requiring three years for its completion was adopted for "Candidates for Priest's Orders," and an abridged program of studies for those seeking admission to "Deacon's Orders."¹⁸⁸ In 1863 six students who had begun their studies under the private tutelage of the bishop of the diocese and others received the first diplomas awarded by the institution.¹⁸⁹

To conform with the growing practice among theological seminaries of conferring degrees upon the graduates of prescribed curriculums, the Divinity School in 1893 appointed a committee to consider the question. It was not until three years later, however, that the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia amended the charter empowering the institution to confer the ordinary degrees in theology, including the degree of Doctor of Canon Law.¹⁹⁰ In June of the same year (1896) a meeting of the joint boards of trustees and overseers formulated the conditions under which the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity and Doctor of Divinity would be conferred. Two years later the Divinity School granted its first degree in course, the Bachelor of Divinity degree, upon

¹⁸⁵ Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Minutes of Trustees and Overseers, I, May 30, 1862, pp. 12-21, 25-26; *Charter, Constitution and Officers* (1862), 6-10.

¹⁸⁶ Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Minutes of Faculty, I, June 12, 1863, pp. 19-20; George Burgess, *The Nobleness of Theological Studies: An Inaugural Discourse . . . September 29, 1862* (Philadelphia, 1862).

¹⁸⁷ Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Minutes of Trustees and Overseers, I, June 27, 1862, p. 29.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, September 30, 1862, pp. 55 ff.; *Officers . . . Course of Studies and Rules Relating to Professors and Students* (Philadelphia, 1862), 4.

¹⁸⁹ Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Minutes of Trustees and Overseers, I, June 17, 1863, p. 82; *Catalogue* (1867-68), 14.

¹⁹⁰ Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Minutes of Trustees and Overseers, II, June 7, 1893, p. 355; Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 22, p. 34 (May 19, 1896).

one student who had completed at least one year of advanced study in the institution.¹⁹¹

The General Council of the Reformed Episcopal church, having appointed a committee (1885) to consider the possibility of establishing a theological seminary, was informed by Bishop William R. Nicholson that on March 6, 1886, he had received "a confidential communication from a most generous friend of the church proposing to set apart the sum of \$200,000 for the erection of a Seminary building, a church edifice, and a chapel, in West Philadelphia."¹⁹² A board of trustees was selected, who, at their very first meeting passed a resolution expressing their appreciation to Miss Harriet L. Benson for the "Munificent gift of the Seminary," appointed a committee to secure a charter, selected a preliminary faculty of two professors (later augmented to eight members), and instructed the executive committee in conjunction with the faculty to prepare a three-year theological course of studies.¹⁹³ In the fall of the same year (October, 1887), the school was opened with an enrollment of eight students.¹⁹⁴ The following year the seminary graduated its first class, comprising two students.¹⁹⁵

Moving promptly, the committee appointed to obtain a charter successfully fulfilled its mission in December, 1887. The charter erected "The Theological Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church" for the purpose of "educating and training men for the ministry of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, especially in connection with the Reformed Episcopal Church." It provided for a board of trustees of nine members, selected by the General Council of the church, who were entrusted with the management of the seminary, including the appointing and dismissing of the professorial staff. In conjunction with the faculty, the trustees were empowered to confer the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity "upon full course graduates" and the honorary

¹⁹¹ Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Minutes of Trustees and Overseers, II, June 3, 1896, pp. 388 ff.; June 8, 1898, p. 433.

¹⁹² *Journal of . . . the Eleventh General Council of the Reformed Episcopal Church, May 25 to May 30, 1887* (Philadelphia, 1887), 29-30.

¹⁹³ Theological Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Minutes of Trustees, I, May 31, September 30, 1887, pp. 13-14, 18-19; *Catalogue* (1887-88), 8-11. All published material in Library, and Minutes of Trustees and Faculty in Vault, of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Philadelphia.

¹⁹⁴ Theological Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church, *Catalogue* (1887-88), 7.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* (1888-89), 23.

degree of Doctor of Divinity "upon any person of suitable attainments."¹⁹⁶

No effort was made to exercise this power until 1894 when the trustees instructed the executive committee and the faculty "to confer the degree . . . of Bachelor of Divinity upon such graduates of our Seminary as have already, or hereafter shall have gone through the full course of study in the Institution."¹⁹⁷ This directive was later modified to embrace only those "College graduates and others who can present evidence of having had training equivalent to that represented by a bachelor's degree conferred by a reputable College, & who can sustain a written examination on the subjects required for the said College degree. . . ."¹⁹⁸ For the first time (1895) the seminary conferred the Bachelor of Divinity degree upon graduates of former classes who were deemed sufficiently qualified to deserve the honor.¹⁹⁹

German Baptist Brethren. Almost twelve years after members of the church had founded the Brethren's Normal College (now Juniata College) the trustees announced that "of late years we have been impressed with the necessity of making religious teaching a part of the school work. And to this end we now introduce the Bible Department." The department was intended for all church members who "desire to attain a religious and Biblical education," but especially for those who are "ministering brethren and Sunday-school workers."²⁰⁰ In 1889 this inchoate beginning was crystallized into a two-year course leading to a diploma.²⁰¹

The change from Brethren's Normal College to Juniata College in 1896, marking the institution's transition from a normal school to a liberal arts college,²⁰² was further reflected in its theological offerings. A new three-year curriculum including New Testament Greek was introduced, and the candidate was informed that "The degree of Bachelor of Sacred Literature is conferred upon those students who complete the Bible Course, with Hebrew."²⁰³ In 1908 the Bible de-

¹⁹⁶ Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 12, p. 560 (December 5, 1887).

¹⁹⁷ Theological Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Minutes of Trustees, I, September 11, 1894, p. 52.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, May 19, 1898, pp. 89-90.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, May 28, 1895, pp. 60-61.

²⁰⁰ Brethren's Normal College, *Catalogue* (1888-89), 9, in Library, Juniata College, Huntingdon.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* (1889-90), 9-10.

²⁰² Huntingdon County, Miscellaneous Volume, No. 11, p. 256 (September 14, 1896); *supra*, 149.

²⁰³ Juniata College, *Catalogue* (1897-98), 18.

partment assumed the title "Bible School," and the course of study was further expanded to comprehend a four-year course in theology leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree.²⁰⁴ The name of the department was again changed in 1919 to "School of Theology."²⁰⁵ However, the existence of the Bethany Biblical Seminary in Chicago and the reluctance of the church to have more than one theological seminary induced the trustees to close the "School of Theology" in 1925.²⁰⁶

Evangelical United Brethren. Like the Methodists and the German Baptist Brethren, neither the Evangelical United Brethren Church nor its predecessors, the Evangelical Association, the United Evangelical Church, and the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, created independent theological seminaries in Pennsylvania. Rather, they incorporated their courses in theology in the programs of the colleges which they had already established. Thus Schuylkill College in 1901 and Albright College in 1903²⁰⁷ formulated plans for ecclesiastical instruction designed to produce pastors for their churches after a training period of two years.

While the records of Albright College are silent as to the fate of the course in theology, those of Schuylkill College record the ebb and flow of its progress. A five-year theological program was announced in 1906, leading to the Bachelor of Philosophy degree at the close of the fourth year and the Bachelor of Divinity degree upon the completion of the fifth year.²⁰⁸ This was eliminated in 1914 when the institution reverted to the theological curriculum of 1901.²⁰⁹ However, the following year (1915) the trustees resolved "That hereafter the degree of Bachelor of Divinity be granted only to such men as have completed the regular Classical course or its equivalent in another school and two years in the Theological Department."²¹⁰ Such a degree was conferred upon one individual two years later. The uncertainty with respect to the course in theology seems to have been

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* (1908-09), 34-35.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* (1918-19), 9.

²⁰⁶ Charles C. Ellis, *Juniata College, 1876-1946* (Elgin, Illinois, 1947), 68-69.

²⁰⁷ Schuylkill Seminary, *Catalogue* (1901-02), 29-31; Albright College, Minutes of Executive Committee of Trustees, February 3, 1903, p. 30, in President's Office, Albright College.

²⁰⁸ Schuylkill Seminary, *Catalogue* (1905-06), 44 ff.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* (1913-14), 35 ff.

²¹⁰ Schuylkill Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, B, June 15, 1915, p. 201.

resolved by 1928 after the institution's merger with Albright College; for from 1930 on the department of theology became known as the "Evangelical School of Theology."²¹¹

Brethren in Christ. In 1909 a charter was obtained from the Court of Common Pleas of Dauphin County incorporating the "Messiah Bible School and Missionary Training Home" for the purpose of educating "men and women for home and foreign mission or evangelistic work; for the dissemination of a knowledge of the Bible, and Christian spiritual training according to the faith and discipline of the Brethren in Christ; and to give men and women an opportunity of preparing themselves in secular studies for future occupations, especially for religious work."²¹² The institution opened at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, September 26, 1910, offering a secondary-school curriculum with emphasis upon Bible and missionary training courses.²¹³

By 1917 the managers decided to expand the school's curriculum and to offer a two-year college program for those who intended eventually to obtain degrees or to pursue their theological education further.²¹⁴ This advancement of the school's course of studies led the managers in 1924 to obtain an amendment to the charter changing the name of the institution to "Messiah Bible College."²¹⁵ It was not until 1946, however, that the State Council of Education accorded the school recognition as a junior college.²¹⁶

Intent upon achieving the status of a four-year degree-granting seminary, the president of the college reported that he had obtained approval for such a move from the State Council of Education. This was finally effected by decree of the court in January, 1951, again changing the name of the seminary to "Messiah College," and empowering it to confer the degrees of Bachelor of Theology and Bachelor of Religious Education.²¹⁷ Shortly after obtaining the rank of a degree-grant-

²¹¹ Schuylkill Seminary, Minutes of Executive Committee of Trustees, May 22, 1917, p. 49; *supra*, 157. Albright College, *Catalogue* (1951-52), 17, 53.

²¹² Dauphin County, Charter Book, "I", 99 (May 18, 1909), Courthouse, Harrisburg.

²¹³ Messiah Bible School, *Catalogue* (September, 1910), 1, 5 ff. Catalogues, minutes, etc., are in the President's Office, Messiah College, Grantham.

²¹⁴ Messiah Bible School, Minutes of Managers, April 5, 1917; *Catalogue* (1917-18), 15, 17; (1920-21), 31-32.

²¹⁵ Dauphin County, Charter Book, "N", 160 (May 12, 1924).

²¹⁶ *PRSPI*, 1944-1946, p. 10.

²¹⁷ Messiah Bible College, Minutes of Trustees, October 12, 1950; State Council of Education to Dr. C. N. Hostetter, February 12, 1951; Dauphin County, Charter Book, "T", 137 (January 15, 1951).

ing institution, the faculty recommended six students for their first degrees.²¹⁸

Presbyterian and Reformed. The combined efforts of the Presbyterian church and the Reformed church (now the Evangelical Reformed church) resulted in the founding (1907) of the Philadelphia School for Christian Workers.²¹⁹ This represented the first successful educational enterprise in Pennsylvania under the control of two separate denominations of Protestants. Chartered in 1909 as the "Philadelphia School for Christian Workers of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches," the institution aimed "to equip workers, both men and women to be pastors' assistants, rescue and mission workers, and missionaries in the cities and on the frontier and in foreign lands."²²⁰

This training, though designed for both sexes, was up until 1928 confined exclusively to women.²²¹ In that year (March 9, 1928) the State Council of Education approved an amendment to the charter permitting the school to confer the degree of Bachelor of Religious Education, and the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia issued its final decree in accordance with the council's recommendation.²²² Three years later the school changed its name to "Tennent College of Christian Education."²²³

Despite the acquisition of the right to confer degrees, the college was not yet in a position to offer a full four-year program. It required the candidate for the degree to take the fourth and final year at some other accredited college.²²⁴ Consequently, the first degrees the school conferred were awarded in 1932 to students who had completed their work elsewhere.²²⁵ It was not until 1933 that the college felt equipped to offer a four-year course; and in that year the institution conferred the Bachelor of Religious Education on one woman who had completed her entire training at Tennent College.²²⁶

²¹⁸ Messiah College, Minutes of Faculty, April 3, 1951.

²¹⁹ Philadelphia School for Christian Workers, *Bulletin*, I (April, 1929), 8. Catalogues and Bulletins of the Philadelphia School for Christian Workers and of Tennent College are in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

²²⁰ Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 39, p. 480 (September 8, 1909).

²²¹ Philadelphia School for Christian Workers, *Bulletin*, I (April, 1929), 11.

²²² *PRSPI*, 1926-28, p. 146; Philadelphia County, Miscellaneous Book, No. 33, p. 290 (March 28, 1928).

²²³ Philadelphia County, Charter Book, No. 117, p. 324 (December 28, 1931).

²²⁴ Philadelphia School for Christian Workers, *Bulletin*, II (April, 1930), 25-26.

²²⁵ Tennent College, *Bulletin*, IV (May, 1932), 4.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, V (April, 1933), 32; V (May, 1933), 3; XIII (October, 1941), 3-4.

The school continued to operate in Pennsylvania until 1943, when its undergraduate curriculum was discontinued, and it was moved to Princeton, New Jersey, where it merged with Princeton Theological Seminary to become the Graduate School of Christian Education of that institution.²²⁷

Pilgrim Holiness Church. In 1921 the Pennsylvania and New Jersey districts of the Pilgrim Holiness church took the first steps towards providing for a trained ministry by founding the Beulah Park Bible School at Allentown.²²⁸ The institution was incorporated thirteen years later as the Allentown Bible Institute,²²⁹ and offered a secondary-school program until 1954. At that time, with the approval of the State Council of Education, the institute's name was changed to Eastern Pilgrim College, and it was empowered to grant the degrees of Bachelor of Theology and Bachelor of Religious Education.²³⁰ Simultaneously with the achieving of degree-granting status, the college conferred baccalaureate honors (1954) in theology and religious education on the twenty-two men and women who comprised the first graduating class.²³¹

2. THE CURRICULUM IN THEOLOGY

Theological education, though varying according to period, instructional facilities, and denominational conceptions, was considered by and large to be post-collegiate or postgraduate education. In prescribing the qualifications for an educated ministry, the Presbyterians declared in 1728 that "It is presupposed (according to the Rules for Ordination) that the Minister of Christ is in some good Measure gifted for so weighty a Service, by his Skill in the Original Languages, and in such arts and Sciences as are Handmaids unto Divinity; by his Knowledge in the whole Body of Theology, but most of all in the Holy Scriptures. . . ."²³² When circumstances precluded the possibility

²²⁷ *Minutes of the Sixty-second Annual Session of the Synod of Pennsylvania of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Held at Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa., June 7 to 11, 1943* (Chambersburg, 1943), June 10, 1943, p. 47; Tennent College, form letter, 1943, in Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

²²⁸ Eastern Pilgrim College, *Catalogue* (1958), 21. Catalogues and commencement programs are in the Dean's Office, Eastern Pilgrim College, Allentown.

²²⁹ Lehigh County, Charter Book, XIV, 262 (July 23, 1934), Courthouse, Allentown.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, XIV, 451 (June 2, 1954).

²³¹ Eastern Pilgrim College, Commencement Program, 1954.

²³² *The Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms . . .* (Edinburgh, 1728), 497.

of a thorough grounding in the classics and the arts and sciences, as represented by a diploma or degree from a reputable institution of higher learning, the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia at its meeting of May 29, 1738, adopted the overture of the Presbytery of Lewes making it mandatory that candidates for the ministry suffering from such deficiencies should be examined by the synod prior to their being certified to the presbyteries as to their fitness.²³³

A more precise formulation of the curriculum in theology had to await the establishment of independent seminaries. With the founding of its first theological seminary, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church adopted "The Plan" of the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1811, which, with certain modifications, later served as a basic platform for the Western Theological Seminary.²³⁴ A spirit of flexibility rather than rigid prescription characterized its curricular provisions, as may be seen from the following:

As the particular course of study pursued in any Institution will, and perhaps ought to, be modified in a considerable degree, by the views and habits of the teachers; and ought, moreover, to be varied, altered, or extended, as experience may suggest improvements; it is judged proper to specify, not so precisely the course of study as the attainments which must be made. Therefore,

1. Every student, at the close of his course, must have made the following attainments, viz: He must be well skilled in the original languages of the Holy Scriptures. He must be able to explain the principal difficulties which arise in the perusal of the Scriptures, either from erroneous translations, apparent inconsistencies, real obscurities or objections, arising from history, reason, or argument. He must be versed in Jewish and Christian antiquities, which serve to explain and illustrate Scripture. He must have an acquaintance with ancient geography, and with oriental customs, which throw light on the sacred records. Thus he will have laid the foundation for becoming a sound biblical critic.

He must have read and digested the principal arguments and writings relative to what has been called the deistical controversy. Thus will he be qualified to become a defender of the Christian faith.

. . . He must have studied carefully and correctly, Natural, Didactic, Polemic, and Casuistic Theology. He must have a

²³³ *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America . . . 1706-1788* (Philadelphia, [1841]), 141-42.

²³⁴ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*, Minutes of May 23, 1811, p. 472. See also *ibid.*, May 22, 1828, p. 235; and *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbyterian Church . . . 1803-1811*, II (Philadelphia, 1813), 327-46.

considerable acquaintance with General History and Chronology, and a particular acquaintance with the history of the Christian Church.

He must have read a considerable number of the best practical writers on the subject of religion. . . .

He must have studied attentively the form of Church Government authorized by the Scriptures. . . .

2. The period of continuance in the Theological Seminary shall, in no case, be less than three years, previously to an examination for a certificate of approbation.²³⁵

Consequently, the published courses of study incorporated these principles and the disciplines contributing towards their realization in graded three-year programs.

Summary of Studies

First Year—Hebrew: Exegetical Exercises in the New Testament; Biblical Antiquities; Elements of Interpretation; Scripture Criticism; Original Essays once a month.

Second Year—Studies preliminary to the study of Theology: (A brief Outline of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Evidences of Christianity, Canonical Authority of the Scriptures); Didactic Theology; Polemic Theology, Pastoral and Casuistic Theology; Original Essays once in three weeks.

Third Year—Biblical History; Ecclesiastical History; Homiletics; Church Government; Church Discipline and Sacraments; Original Essays or Sermons once in two weeks.²³⁶

As the seminary broadened its scope to meet the enlarged demands of changing social conditions, new courses and disciplines were added to the curriculum. Modern languages were offered as optional subjects in 1858. Chaldee and Syriac were studied by selected students in 1880. Courses in church music were announced in 1906. In conformity with the growing collegiate practice, the elective principle was introduced in 1910. And sociology and courses in social problems were included in the curriculum in 1913.²³⁷

²³⁵ *Plan of the Western Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church*. . . . (Allegheny, Pa., 1884), 10-11, in Library of Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh.

²³⁶ *A Plea for the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny* . . . (Pittsburgh, 1939), 14; Western Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1844-45), 22. Catalogues, minutes, etc., are in Library, Western Theological Seminary.

²³⁷ Western Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1857-58), 11; Minutes of Directors, April 23, 1880, p. 245; *Catalogue* (1905-06), 26; Minutes of Directors, May 5, 1910, pp. 295 ff.; *Catalogue* (1910-11), 29 ff.; Minutes of Faculty, March 19, September 20, 1913, pp. 281, 284.

In addition to the expansion of the normal three-year curriculum, the seminary added an optional fourth year for those students who wished to pursue "more advanced Studies and Exercises." It was this postgraduate year that became the basis at the opening of the twentieth century for the awarding of the Bachelor of Divinity degree.²³⁸ The seminary secured the approval of the College and University Council to confer degrees in theology; which approval was confirmed in law by the decree of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County in 1907.²³⁹ By the third decade of the new century, on the recommendation of the faculty, Western Theological Seminary adopted the practice of conferring the Bachelor of Sacred Theology upon the graduates of the regular three-year course and the Master of Sacred Theology degree upon those who completed the fourth or postgraduate year.²⁴⁰

Varying according to the specific needs of the church and the facilities at their command, other denominations of Presbyterians experienced a similar evolution in their curriculum practices. The Allegheny Seminary of the Associate Reformed Church, for example, urged its licentiates in 1854 to return for the fourth year which had been established by action of the synod as early as 1841.²⁴¹ The Reformed Presbyterians, although licensing their students after three years, made it mandatory for them to complete an additional year of study before permitting them to accept a pastoral call.²⁴² With some variations in practice,²⁴³ it becomes the custom to confer the Bachelor of Sacred Theology degree upon graduates of the three-year course²⁴⁴ and the Master of Sacred Theology degree for postgraduate work.²⁴⁵

²³⁸ Western Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1859-60), 13; Minutes of Faculty, November 14, 1903, pp. 208-209; November 4, 1904, p. 217.

²³⁹ College and University Council, "Biennial Report," *PRSPI*, 1908, p. 538; Allegheny County, Charter Book, No. 42, p. 287 (November 15, 1907), Courthouse, Pittsburgh.

²⁴⁰ Western Theological Seminary, Minutes of Faculty, December 20, 1920, p. 347; *Catalogue* (1922-23), 38, 55; (1923-24), 38, 55.

²⁴¹ Allegheny Theological Seminary, Minutes of the Board of Superintendents, March 15, 1854, in Library, Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh.

²⁴² Geneva College, *Catalogue* (1881-82), 14 ff.

²⁴³ Westminster Theological Seminary, Minutes of Trustees, II, May 9, 1944, pp. 277 ff.

²⁴⁴ Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees, II, June 2, 1875, p. 2; Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1922-23), 41; Westminster Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1939-40), 31.

²⁴⁵ Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1922-23), 44; Western Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1922-23), 55; (1923-24), 55.

A detailed description of the theological curriculums of other denominations of Protestants would result in needless repetition. Their programs were similar to those of the various Presbyterian groups, differing initially in some cases as to length of course, disciplinary emphasis, and doctrinal interpretations. This essential unity in ecclesiastical offerings was underscored by a committee of the Protestant Episcopal church appointed (1862) to formulate a "Course of Studies" for the Divinity School at Philadelphia. The committee found, after examining "the several courses pursued in the principal institutions for theological education now established in the United States," that "there is so general a concurrence in the main features of all these arrangements as to create a strong presumption that they are the result of a sound judgment and a general experience, from whose conclusions it would not be safe to depart very widely."²⁴⁶ Thus, those which in their formative years had adopted courses of study of two²⁴⁷ or two and one-half years²⁴⁸ eventually expanded their programs to embrace three full years.²⁴⁹ Further, the theological seminaries with the necessary charter provisions adopted the practice of conferring degrees in theology upon their graduates.

The Catholic theological seminaries required a more prolonged period of training for prospective candidates for the priesthood. Organized generally into two divisions called the major and minor seminaries, the entire course might vary in length from eight to ten years.²⁵⁰ The minor seminary, if it covers a four-year period, usually embraces a course of studies corresponding to the junior and senior years of high school and the freshman and sophomore years of college; while the major seminary, invariably demanding six years for its completion, provides two years of "Philosophy," analogous to the

²⁴⁶ Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Minutes of Trustees and Overseers, I, September 30, 1862, pp. 55-56.

²⁴⁷ Lincoln University, *Catalogue* (1865-66), 9; Moravian College and Theological Seminary, *Catalogue*, (1876), 11; Ursinus College, *Catalogue* (1870-71), 18; (1886-87), 46.

²⁴⁸ Marshall College, *Catalogue* (1833-34), 30-32.

²⁴⁹ Lincoln University, Minutes of Trustees, I, June 19, 1872, pp. 192-93; Franklin and Marshall College, *Catalogue* (1856-57), 38; Ursinus College, *Catalogue* (1888-89), 51-53; Moravian College and Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1930-31), 62 ff.

²⁵⁰ St. Francis College, *Catalogue* (1926-27), 10-12; Schulte, *Historical Sketch*, 8.

junior and senior years of college, and four years of "Theology."²⁵¹ The following four-year course may be regarded as typical of the Catholic theological curriculum:

<i>Theology</i>			
<i>1st Year</i>	<i>2nd Year</i>	<i>3rd Year</i>	<i>4th Year</i>
Dogma 5	Dogma 5	Dogma 5	Sacred Theology (1) 5
Moral 4	Moral 4	Moral 4	Sacred Theology (2) 5
Ascetics 1	Ascetics 1	Ascetics 1	Ascetics 1
Exegesis 3	Exegesis 3	Exegesis 3	Pastoral 1
Canon Law... 1	Canon Law... 2	Canon Law... 2	Exegesis 3
Church History 3	Church History 3	Church History 3	Canon Law ... 1
Liturgy 1	Chant 1	Chant 1	Liturgy 1
Chant 1	Homiletics .. 1	Homiletics .. 1	Chant 1
Homiletics .. 1			Homiletics 1
			Catechetics ... 1
—	—	—	—
20	20	20	20 ²⁵²

From humble and rather feeble beginnings, Pennsylvania's theological seminaries gathered strength over the passing years to perform the advanced function for which they had been established. This rise to maturity was accompanied by a broadening of the curriculum to include hitherto neglected areas of study, such as psychology, sociology, and social work. The trend towards liberalization, first reflected in the curriculum, was further extended in a number of cases to permit women to enter upon formal programs of theological instruction. Seminaries of the Unitarians and the Baptists were among the first to confer degrees in theology upon members of the fair sex; and such degrees are currently being conferred from time to time upon a few women by the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church at Lancaster.²⁵³

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*; St. Francis College, *Catalogue* (1926-27), 11-12; St. Vincent's Seminary, Courses of Study for Seminaries of the Eastern Province of the Congregation of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul, January, 1952, in Archives of St. Vincent's Seminary, Philadelphia.

²⁵² *Ibid.* The numbers beside each course represent class hours.

²⁵³ Meadville Theological School, *General Catalogue* (1840-1930), 108; Crozer Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1930-31), 50; Temple College, Minutes of Trustees, II, May 14, 1904, p. 350; Evangelical and Reformed Theological Seminary, *Catalogue* (1951-52), 98 ff.

For a brief period, the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, admitted women to the course in theology leading to a degree. In 1928 the faculty agreed to admit "Elizabeth H. Willing, B.A. . . . as a special student."²⁵⁴ Her status apparently was changed during the course of her matriculation, for in 1931 she was granted "the degree of Bachelor of Theology in course" and became the first of her sex to be so honored by the Divinity School.²⁵⁵ But the rise of considerable opposition among the members of the Episcopal clergy to the policy of permitting women to pursue the regular course in theology forced the abandonment of the practice in 1949 and limited women to the program leading to the degree of Master of Religious Education.²⁵⁶ In the main, those denominations which admit women to their theological seminaries seek to qualify them as competent religious teachers rather than as ministers of the gospel.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ Divinity School of Protestant Episcopal Church, Minutes of Faculty, October 11, 1928, p. 1.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1931, p. 2.

²⁵⁶ Interview with Dr. Nelson W. Rightmyer, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Liturgics, March 28, 1952.

²⁵⁷ *Infra*, 566-67, for further discussion concerning the admission of women to theological seminaries.

